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**PERPETUATING STEREOTYPES IN TELEVISION NEWS: THE
INFLUENCE OF INTERRACIAL CONTACT ON CONTENT**

Committee:

Dominic L. Lasorsa, Supervisor

Renita B. Coleman

Paula M. Poindexter

Gene A. Burd

Cynthia J. Buckley

**Perpetuating Stereotypes in Television News: The Influence of
Interracial Contact on Content**

by

David Alan Free, B.J.; M.A.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all blind and visually impaired individuals that have a dream and a desire to achieve.

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Perpetuating Stereotypes in Television News: The Influence of Interracial Contact on Content

David Alan Free, Ph.D.

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Supervisor: Dominic L. Lasorsa

Previous research indicates stereotypes of minorities are persistent in television news stories. Can personal familiarity with different racial/ethnic groups influence the selection of non-stereotypical news images? Supported by theories of the personal contact hypothesis, framing, priming, schema, and stereotyping, this study hypothesized that student journalists with a high level of personal contact with different races/ethnicities would select non-stereotypical images to help illustrate television news stories focusing on social issues and hypothesized that student journalists with a low level of personal contact would select non-stereotypical images for the same texts when primed to think about facts countering common misconceptions of racial/ethnic stereotypes. Also, will the level of personal contact with different races/ethnicities and the self-identified race of the student journalist influence non-stereotypical image selection? A two-part experiment tested 128 student journalists with an online pre-test measuring the level of personal contact in social activities with different races/ethnicities. Later, a substantive in-person experiment required participants to select from a set of four photographs, the photo that they believed best represented the content of a news story in which race played a possible role. This task was conducted five times with five different news stories and five different sets of photographs.

The independent variables were the level of personal contact and whether or not the participant was first primed to think about facts countering common racial/ethnic misconceptions. The dependent variable was the selection of either a non-stereotypical or stereotypical photo. A two-way between-subjects analysis of variance was used. Results showed no significant difference in photo selection attributed to the level of personal contact or to prior priming to think non-stereotypically. There was no significant difference between prior priming and photo selection. Additionally, the race of the participant made no difference in photo selection. While these results are contrary to existing theory, research, pedagogy and intuition. It is worth noting that finding no statistical significance does not necessarily mean that the phenomenon is not happening in reality.

Responses to open ended questions within the manipulation tests were qualitatively analyzed and showed that although the 14 participants enrolled in a university liberal arts course were able to recognize the racial stereotypes within the news stories, some chose stereotypical images contrary to their stated criterion for selecting a non-stereotypical image.

Future research should test the hypotheses with subjects from more heterogeneous regions of the country, and recruit professional and student journalists as study participants and compare generational differences in cultural, racial, and ethnic understanding, education, and tolerance.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Journalists observe and reconstruct the events of the day by presenting images that, on the surface, convey obvious and universal meaning, while simultaneously using words and images that contain more subtle connotations, leaving the audience to infer meaning and value based on the perspective and ideology of the individual. One of the most prominent and measurable reconstructions of society through images and texts is found in portrayals of race/ethnicity. Previous research has shown that broadcast media play a role in the construction of race by presenting representations based on news gatherers' and gatekeepers' perceptions, beliefs, attitudes, and preconceived notions of race/ethnicity and are reinforced or reconstructed by the images and text as presented in television news stories.

Technological innovations in mass communication have increased the number of message delivery systems over the past few decades. Once only accessible over radio and television airwaves, today's audiences can receive news, information, and entertainment content from cable lines, direct satellite, and the Internet. These delivery systems act as the conduit through which messages circulate. Even though the number of ways to receive content has increased and styles of writing and presenting images adapt to the ever-changing technology, the messages remain embedded with society's ideologies, perspectives, attitudes, values, and practices. The images and texts are representations of our world as seen through the eyes of the observer, processed through the technology of the time, filtered by content managers, and re-presented to the audience, which in turn observes, processes, and filters the information, which may be interpreted differently, depending on the ideologies, perspectives, attitudes, values, and practices of the individual audience member.

It is not enough to fill newsrooms with racially/ethnically and culturally diverse gatekeepers, but that the gatekeepers must have first-hand, personal and frequent contact and knowledge of different racial/ethnic people in order to avoid pervasive stereotypical representations of minorities. In other words, the higher the level of personal contact, the less likely stereotypes will appear. This study is designed to measure the journalist's level of lifetime socialization and personal contact with different races/ethnicities and how that level may affect the construction of stereotypes in the newsroom by choosing a stereotypical or non-stereotypical photographic image to a racialized television news script about social issues.

How news stories are constructed by newsroom routines and how the news is reconstructed depends on how the stories are told or framed. Framing is conceptualized as a process of intentionally or unintentionally conveying meaning through symbolic words, catchphrases, or images (Entman, 1993; Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001; Reese, 2007, Tankard, et al., 1991; and others). The frames may contain unstated assumptions, implied behavioral characteristics, as well as direct references about race, ethnicity, and culture. The frame is interpreted and resonates with an individual's schema or logical knowledge, understanding, and view of the world (Widmayer, 2007). The frame appears natural, logical, and is accepted and unquestioned. Media frames and individual schema may be developed within the mind of the individual. How a person perceives a situation, concept, or even other people, may depend on the person's exposure to and contact with the situation, concept, or others (Allport, 1954 and others), which enables the individual to accept, reject, or alter the logical perception within her/his schema (Widmayer, 2007 and others). It may be possible to alter the schema if primed to think about alternative possibilities and points of view (Domke, 2001; Dixon & Azocar, 2007; and others). The application of these concepts can be located within earlier journalism, mass

communication, and social science research. Therefore, this project will be founded in framing, schema, stereotyping, priming, and personal contact theories.

Today's college students in journalism are tomorrow's news professionals. Student journalists soon will be securing entry-level positions in various news media that merge video, audio, photography, and print to produce content for a variety of delivery platforms. The production skills once required for television journalists only, such as video camera operation and audio/video editing techniques, are now a necessity for all journalists, regardless of medium. Ideally, good journalistic habits learned in college coursework will carry over into professional work. Likewise, bad journalism habits and skills will continue as the students shift from classroom to newsroom.

Given the news media's awareness and sensitivity to racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity in today's society, racial/ethnic stereotypes continue to persist in television news, even if the stereotypes are unintentional. This investigation probes into the student journalist's social contact history with different racial/ethnic individuals and groups and how the level of contact may affect the decisions made when developing and constructing stereotypical or non-stereotypical images within news stories. The hypothesis states that student journalists that have positive mutual close friendships with individuals from different racial/ethnic backgrounds are less likely to select stereotypical images and student journalists with few or no contacts with individuals from different racial/ethnic groups, will select stereotypical images, unless the students with low contact levels are primed with information countering stereotypical assumptions about a racial/ethnic group. In this case, student journalists will select non-stereotypical images. To test this proposition, it will be necessary to measure the level of personal contact and measure whether or not image choices corresponding to news texts pertaining to social issues are non-stereotypical. This study also asks if minority student journalists, specifically

African Americans, will choose more or fewer non-stereotypical images for news stories that implicate an African American stereotype, than White, Hispanic, and/or Asian student journalists.

The following chapters will detail the conception and history of race, explain the rationale for the theoretical associations, and exhibit prior research literature to support the study. Subsequent chapters will explicate the methodology and results, concluding with commentary of the implications and ramifications of the results for future research.

If race is socially constructed, then the representations and perceptions of race also must be a construct, thus socially writing the racialized messages. The construction processes can be identified, dissected, and analyzed in order to further the knowledge and understanding of journalists' roles in reinforcing stereotypes, racism, marginalization, and racialization of specific social populations.

Chapter 2: Overview of Race

Race is a social construct. The idea of race is not a new phenomenon, at least in the context of recorded history. However, the acknowledgment and practice of identifying, classifying, and constructing race as vital components of a constructed and structured society is a relatively new concept that has developed over the last several centuries. Innovations and technological advancements may have been the catalyst for the trans-global migrations and mobility of societies which allowed for the cultural, religious, and political ideologies to be integrated, inculcated, or abandoned all together as two or more societies or civilizations converged. Within this convergence lies the construction of race as an ideological notion and eventually racism as an institutionalized practice.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RACE IN AMERICA

A question arises as to when the shift from an ideological understanding and application of race to a scientific classification and application of race occurred and the extent to which that shift helped shape the patterns and practices of race today. This section will provide an interpretation of “religious racism” and “scientific racism” and within the context of the two, a definition of “race.”

RELIGIOUS RACISM

The term “religious racism” may very well be applicable to modern or today’s societies around the world. The popularity and proliferation of religious fundamentalism found in a variety of religions around the world have produced national and international consternation and the enactment of laws and military action, not just aimed toward or against other nations, but toward people in order to prevent or promote a specific

religious ideology held by certain societies. Horowitz (2000) maintains that the modern Western idea of religion is a matter of choice or affiliation and not an inherent characteristic of a group or individual. However, it is plausible to understand how modern religious racism can be manifested as Horowitz (2000) points out:

“Outside the West, religion remained an ascriptive affiliation. For many groups, religion is not a matter of faith but a given, an integral part of their identity, and for some, an inextricable component of their sense of peoplehood” (Horowitz, 2000, p. 50).

However, “religious racism” in the context here, will refer to the historic beliefs and understanding of racism. Fredrickson (2002) classifies the type of modern “religious racism” described above as xenophobia rather than racism:

...I made the distinction between racism and xenophobia and between racial and religious intolerance. Xenophobia (literally the fear of strangers) is an ancient and virtually universal phenomenon, while racism...is a historical construction with a traceable career covering the period between fourteenth century and the twenty-first (Fredrickson, 2002, p. 140).

With this in mind, the attention is turned to the historic definitions and understanding of religious racism, based on ideological principles and not on biological traits. Lewis (1995) suggests that race had its roots in the realization or recognition of otherness. He posits that throughout the evolution of mankind as groups had come in contact with distant tribes, the otherness was transposed into hostility (p. 1). But as Lewis (1995) maintains, in the early Greek and Roman societies, the standard of identity was no longer defined by “blood and kinship” or “family,” but by “culture and citizenship” (p. 1). Likewise, another line of development occurred in proximity to Greece and Rome: the establishment of “Christianity, Judaism, and Islam,” which defined otherness by “religion – that is, shared belief and worship” (p. 1). At issue is how the others or the outsiders were recognized, treated, or tolerated (Lewis, 1995):

In general, the rights accorded to such groups, which came to be known as minorities, were inferior to those of the dominant groups. Minority rights varied considerably, from minimal to maximal forms. Some societies even allowed members of minorities to live full and useful lives as participant members of the society and loyal subjects of the state, though they did not share the basic beliefs of the majority and therefore did not enjoy full rights (Lewis, 1995, p. 1).

By the Middle Ages in Western Europe, the identification of race was based on skin pigmentation as Western Europeans came in “contact” with “sub-Saharan Africans” (Fredrickson, 2002, p. 26). However, while race was becoming a labeling device during the Middle Ages, there is evidence that religious, and thus racial, tolerance existed as found in some classical German texts. Classen (1998) notes “that many contacts between Europeans and representatives of other races existed and that some of these relations indeed facilitated the development of the idea of tolerance” (p. 277). He refers to the German narratives “Herzog Ernst and Wolfram von Eschenbach’s Parzival and Willehalm,” which indicates the feasibility of “alternative forms of cultural exchange” (p. 277). Nevertheless, the dominant paradigm of the time seems to be that of religious intolerance and a differentiation between races based on where others were located outside Christianity and skin color was used as a marker.

The delineation of dark versus light skin introduced a different conceptualization of race. Fanon (1967) describes the connotations of blackness and whiteness as black representing evil and white representing goodness, and thus, superiority is associated with whiteness and blackness connotes inferiority. The superior/inferior model of race and racism reflected a move away from the ideological and religious basis for racism to a more scientific approach as colonialism began to develop around the globe.

SCIENTIFIC RACISM

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries brought about significant alterations in the fabric of societal structures. The French and English colonies, based on economics, did more than produce wealth for the colonizers. What may have been good for the colonizer, may certainly not have been good for the colonized. Borrowing from Fanon's (1967) notion that black equates to evil and white to goodness, Western Europeans were viewing the subjugated colonized in terms of otherness as savage or uncivilized. Colonialism brought a new age to the world as explained by Blaut (1993):

The nineteenth century was the age of scientific exploration—Darwin in the Beagle, Livingstone in Africa, Powell in the Rockies, and so on—but the sources of support for these efforts tended to be institutions with very practical interests in the regions being studied (Blaut, 1993, p. 23).

What transpired from this new birth of literature and discourses on the ethnographies of the inhabitants of the colonized region appears to be, as Blaut said, institutionalized. For many Western Europeans, these ideas and mental images being created about a place never seen or the “savage” never personally encountered, became the benchmark for defining us and them. Blaut (1993) places some of the blame of racism on the missionaries commissioned to convert the uncivilized people of the newly colonized regions and although the church and religion were used as a rationale for the white (light) superiority/black (dark) inferiority model, it was not religious racism as discussed previously, for the racism by religion was based on skin color and biological attributes and not on kinship (blood).

Blaut (1993) argues that the scholarly discourses at the turn of the twentieth century contained the more prominent viewpoint that race was determined biologically. Eurocentrism was validated by the “obvious” superiority of the white Europeans who “had attained a higher level of wealth and civilization...and had done so on their own,

mainly through invention, innovation, and creativity” (p. 95). So, the paradigm of identifying race by recognizing and categorizing specific biological features or phenotypical characteristics and equating the darkness in skin color and locale with the ability to innovate and achieve had a firm foundation on which to construct a scientific racism.

W.E.B. Du Bois was one of the more prolific scholars of the early 1900s that brought the discourses on race to the American public. In his book, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Du Bois, 1903), he sets forth the idea of double consciousness, which suggests Blacks possess dual identities. Nevertheless, the dominant discourses that were more prevalent, perhaps reaching the zenith during the 1920s and 1930s, may be exemplified best by the rise of Nazism in Germany prior to and during World War II, with its overt racism. Based on biological and scientific notions of race, the white or Aryan race is the superior race. This moment in historical context marks the tipping point or pivotal moment where the discourses of the past shift (Barkan, 1992). However, the racism of Hitler and Nazi Germany was not based on skin color or physical characteristics, but rather was focused on bloodlines, culture, and religion. Again, the Eurocentrism as discussed previously was a prominent factor: Whiteness was associated with superiority. The discourses became framed as political and not scientific as Barkan (1992) argues:

[Scientists’] shared a belief that the centrality of race for political and cultural discourse depended largely on its scientific legitimacy. For various subjective motives...they chose to address the topic of race, which was consequently transformed from a scientific fact into a political hot potato (Barkan, 1992, p. xi).

He further states:

Racial differences are viewed in cultural terms, xenophobia has become more egalitarian, and the strife is no longer waged in the name of superiority. This transformation has been the retreat of racism (Barkan, 1992, p. xii).

It is Barkan's "retreat of racism" that describes the "modern" understanding of race and racism today. It is the rise of Nazism and the realization of the Holocaust that has changed the idea of scientific racism.

Race and racism as concepts may be difficult to define on an individual level, but, the discourses have changed over the centuries; leading to the question has anything really changed? Perhaps the nomenclature and titles have been modified; however, the functions of recognizing the other and segregation, either geographically or ideologically continue to exist. Grosfoguel (2003) asserts that neo-colonialism and racism exist globally today, specifically in the Caribbean where "the borders of exclusion in the new global colonial/racial formation are built on cultural racist premises rather than biological racist discourses" (p. 14), thus reiterating Barkan's statement on the shift in racial discourses.

The notion of race may be connected to identity: the racial identity of self and the racial identity of and by others. The recognition of difference is not inherently racist. On the one hand, Lopez (1997) suggests that to recognition is contentious:

"If recognizing Whiteness is problematic, because it entrenches the idea that races exist, the critique might go, then celebrating minority identities might pose the same danger. Moreover, if all racial identities are constructed relative to one another, then the elaboration or any laudatory racial identity, White or Black, necessarily threatens to denigrate the racial identity of others, at least by implication" (Lopez, 1997, p. 180).

On the other hand, some scholars (Cesaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967) maintain that race, especially their Blackness, is real, ever-present, and can never go unnoticed. Likewise, Stuart Hall (1990) suggests emphases be placed on the construction of cultural identity as a construction from within as a diasporic attitude that "the recognition of a necessary

heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity” (p. 312).

However race is conceptualized and operationalized in relation to colonialism, diaspora, antiquity, or modernity, the fact remains that differences are noticeable. How groups, societies, or civilizations act and react to confrontation with differences leads to the construction of race and racism. Religious racism grew out of a need for one group to acknowledge the dissimilarities in ideology. As scientific racism developed, the focus was on biological factors and characteristics. The dominant group tended to construct a superior/inferior model based on skin pigmentation and physical traits which led to the ultimate form and display of overt racism: the Holocaust. The discourses had been presented from a scientific perspective. The realization of the barbarism inflicted on the Jews, leading up to and during the Nazi occupation, served as the pivot point for the discourses and the global society. Race and racism were conceptualized in political and xenophobic terms.

Acknowledging difference is not inherently bad, but taking advantage of economies and power and the exploitation of people in the name of religion or science can be problematic for those being subjugated.

Chapter 3: Literature and Theoretical Foundations

RACE/ETHNICITY IN THE NEWS

Many studies have focused on African Americans, Latinos/Hispanics, or Asian Americans in television newscasts and content analyzed for the role as official news source, criminal, victim of crime, victim of social problems, or general representations of everyday life (cultural festivals and community events). Romer, Jamieson, and De Coteau (1998) content analyzed 14 weeks of local television newscasts in Philadelphia in 1994, hypothesizing that “the news media engage in a discourse of ethnic blame that is independent of realistic group conflict” (p. 286). The results proved consistent with the hypothesis, finding that “persons of color were heavily presented” in crime stories and more likely to be identified as perpetrators and less likely to be presented as victims, while the opposite appeared to apply to whites (p. 286). Dixon and Linz (2000) studied 116 local television newscasts in Los Angeles from 1995 to 1996 and found through a content analysis that for every white that was identified as a perpetrator of crime, 1.32 Latinos and 1.72 Blacks were identified as perpetrators of crime (p. 142). Entman (1990, 1992) examined 321 newscasts in Chicago from 1989 to 1990 and found that African Americans were made to “look particularly threatening” in crime stories (1990, p. 342). Klein (2003) analyzed survey data on audience reactions to newscasts in Pittsburg over a six year period. Three age cohorts’, college students, middle/high school students, and senior citizens, responses were studied and the results showed four negative references for every single positive reference to Blacks (p. 1612). Poindexter, Smith, and Heider (2003) conducted a content analysis of local television newscast from 26 stations in 12 cities across the United States. The newscasts aired in 1987 and from 1989 through 1998 and it was found that African Americans were over-represented in crime stories. Heider

(2000) conducted an ethnographic study blended with quantitatively analyzed texts in newsrooms in Albuquerque, New Mexico and Honolulu, Hawaii in 1992 and found that if minorities are not overrepresented in crime stories, they are overrepresented in cultural festivals and events.

Researchers have paid much attention to television news and African Americans and slightly less attention to the possible news framing of Latino/Hispanic or Asians. However, Chiricos and Eschholz (2002) videotaped, coded, and content analyzed 115 half-hour newscasts from three television station in Orlando, Florida in May 1998 and found that African Americans are not overrepresented when compared to the population profile of Orlando and Latinos/Hispanics are slightly overrepresented relative to their proportion of the population (p. 413). These findings suggest that the framing of racial/ethnic individuals or groups by local television news processes may facilitate the community's perceived threat and fear of crime and minorities as criminals, thus being viewed as a form of "modern racism" (McConahay, 1986; Sears, 1988), resulting in the construction of more "social controls and exclusions" (Chiricos & Eschholz, 2002, p. 400).

Some studies measuring racial/ethnic diversity of reporters, sourcing, and content in television newscasts have shown that having racially/ethnically diverse reporters and anchors on the air does not necessarily mean that the content will be void of racial/ethnic assumptions and implications (Free, 2006), while other studies have found minority reporters are more likely to use more minority sources and present more racially/ethnically diverse content (Kurpius, 2002).

Dixon and Maddox (2005) measured participants' emotional discomfort when viewing crime stories and if the race and skin tone of the perpetrator of the crime influenced the memorability and perceptions of the criminal. Results showed heavy

television news viewers exhibited more discomfort when watching darker-skinned Black perpetrators of crime. Also, heavy viewers had a more favorable impression of the victim regardless of the Black perpetrator having darker or lighter skin tone. The results also found that the darker skinned Black perpetrator was more memorable.

Intuition may suggest that the heavy news viewers base their perception of African Americans on what they see on the screen and not based on their personal knowledge and contact with African Americans.

PERSONAL CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

The core theoretical basis behind this study lies in the personal contact hypothesis. While originally introduced to identify or predict racial/ethnic prejudice, the concept may be adapted to measure one's propensity to view all minorities in stereotypical terms.

Allport (1954) argues that, "A verifiable assessment of a group [trait] is not the same as the selecting, sharpening, and fictionalizing of a stereotype" (Allport, 1954, p. 189). He defines a stereotype as "an experienced belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalize) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 191). Furthermore, he notes that prejudice can be identified in beliefs, as well as in attitudes, hypothesizing that "contacts that bring knowledge and acquaintance are likely to engender sounder beliefs concerning minority groups, and for this reason, contribute to the reduction of prejudice" (p. 268).

Reed (1980) tested the "contact hypothesis" and although the study focused on regional stereotypes (Northerners versus Southerners) and what role measuring exposure and hostility played in fostering stereotypes, the results of the survey data seemingly

support the contact hypotheses, which states that interaction between racial/ethnic groups will reduce prejudice (p. 134).

Powers and Ellison (1995) argue that although the contact hypothesis findings have been rather uniform over more than a half century of study, there are “three critical limitations” to the hypothesis: 1) the research has been limited to specific institutions or laboratories where most inter-racial contact seldom or never occurs; 2) research has primarily been focused on White racial attitudes only; and 3) evidence now suggests the causal factors may be due to a “selection effect, where more tolerant prone individuals will seek out friendships with different racial/ethnic backgrounds and individuals that have intolerant inclinations will not actively seek out-group friendships or relationships (p. 206). Powers and Ellison conducted a secondary data analysis with data from the National Survey of Black Americans and tested for the selectivity bias (p. 205). The results showed no evidence of selection bias which supports the previous findings in contact hypothesis testing.

Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of intergroup contact theory based on Allport’s original 1954 findings and “test whether intergroup contact is associated with less prejudice. The meta-analysis tested 713 independent samples from 515 different studies. The results were not only consistent with Allport’s findings that intergroup contact reduces prejudice, but also found that greater personal contact produces more favorable attitudes toward the entire out-group and not just toward the individual (p. 766). Also, these findings indicate that the theory is applicable to any marginalized or out-group beyond racial/ethnic groups.

Park (2012) presented an extensive examination of mediated intergroup contact by explaining, synthesizing, and applying the concepts of how intergroup relations are influenced by racial/ethnic portrayals on television as researched over the years. Park

contends that the lack of recent research on integration within the media is needed to further the understanding of intergroup contact or the personal contact hypothesis. In other words, researchers have a well developed concept and application of intergroup contact between Whites and African Americans where the intergroup contact among in-groups' attitudes being influenced by personal contact with members of out-groups can be measured, but little research on the influences on prejudice and attitudes within integrated communities, which may provide insight into the reduction of stereotypical representations found in television entertainment and news programs.

STEREOTYPING

Studies on how and why racial/ethnic attitudes, prejudices, and stereotypes are constructed and measured provide an additional theoretical foundation for this project. Katz and Braly (1933) ¹ studied 100 college students to classify the characteristics and traits that are associated with racial/ethnic groups. The study named ten racial/ethnic groups more as nationalities than what may be considered racial groups today. Hispanic or Latino categories were not included. Katz and Braly identified the groups as "Negroes," "Americans," "Chinese," and "Japanese," which by today's categorization would be considered African Americans, Asians, and Whites. The results indicate more negative traits were assigned to Italians, Irish, Jews, Chinese, Negroes, and Turks. More favorable adjectives were assigned to Germans, English, Japanese, and Americans. Negro traits included superstitious, lazy, happy-go-lucky, and ostentatious, while Americans were seen as industrious, intelligent, materialistic, and ambitious. Chinese

¹ The Katz and Braly study was conducted in 1932, but published in 1933. The Gilbert study was conducted in 1950 and published in 1951. The Karlins, Coffman, and Walters study was conducted in 1967 and published in 1969. Quotes about the previous studies may refer to the year conducted and not the year published.

were thought to be superstitious, sly, conservative, but also industrious. Japanese were assigned traits such as industrious, intelligent, progressive, and shrewd.

Gilbert (1951) replicated the original 1933 Katz and Braly study at Princeton University, using the identical methodology, procedures, and university (Princeton), but increased the number of participants. The results were not significantly different from the 1933 study; however, voluntary statements by the participating college students indicated a reluctance to assign racial, ethnic, or nationality traits to people with whom the students had little or no contact.

Subsequently, in 1969, Karlins, Coffman, and Walters repeated the studies of 1933 and 1951, noting how some stereotypes appeared to be fading as global, political, and educational opportunities changed. Karlins and his colleagues altered the sample population of Princeton University slightly by adding the subgroups of prep and public high school graduates, as well as delineating between group and individual stereotypes. Also, the sample included 150 Princeton University students. Otherwise, the procedure followed the Katz and Braly and Gilbert studies identically. The result of the Karlins and colleagues' (1969) studies show negative stereotypes fading from 1933 statistics, with African Americans showing the largest decrease in negative traits. Still, African Americans were stereotyped as musical, happy-go-lucky, and pleasure seeking. Likewise, top American traits of "industrious" and "intelligent" were replaced with "materialistic." Nevertheless, the traits assigned to all groups appear to be changing to more positive associations.

The methodology and results of the Princeton trilogy studies over time are challenged in a 1995 study by Devine and Elliot. The authors argue that three major flaws exist in the Princeton studies' methodology: "(a) ambiguity of the instructions given to respondents, (b) no assessment of respondents' level of prejudice, and (c) use of

an outdated use of adjectives” (p. 1139). To correct these deficiencies, Devine and Elliot studied 147 White undergraduate students from the University of Wisconsin – Madison. The study focused on stereotypical traits with an emphasis on Black stereotypes. Participants were asked to fill out a stereotype and personal belief assessment to counter the ambiguity in the Katz and Braly and replicated studies. The researchers explicitly stated an interest in the students’ “knowledge of the cultural stereotypes of Blacks” (p. 1142).

The personal beliefs about Blacks assessment followed the same procedure. The study continued much like the Princeton trilogy studies were carried out. The results suggest “that there exists a consistent and negative contemporary stereotype of Blacks” (p. 1139).

Most recently, Poindexter (2011) synthesized research findings that have shown African Americans in the news to be routinely “stereotyped, underrepresented, and segregated” (p. 1). She identifies the four major stereotypes of African-Americans as: poor, criminals, athletes, or entertainers/celebrities” (p. 1). Poindexter’s taxonomy also illuminates the representations of Anglos, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asians, as well as African Americans in news stories.

News gathers and gatekeepers are not unlike typical citizens since both groups are humans involved and affected by social traditions, norms, and conditions. News personnel can bring personal bias to their work, news reporters and gatekeepers tend to be white, and the racial composition within news can influence the construction of race, and the presentations perpetuate institutionalized racism. New information technologies, growing minority economic power, greater interactive media participation, and “significant demographic changes are underway that will alter the size and presence of minority groups” in media (Schement, 1996). Therefore, with the changing demographics

and faces of television news gatherers, producers, presenters, and audiences, the representations of ethnic groups likewise may be changing. What is evident is that framing of stories on television and in mass media of minorities carries significant effects on social attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors which perpetuate the stereotypical representations of minorities.

FRAMING THEORY

A journalist's knowledge of a variety of cultural perspectives through personal contact with members of different racial/ethnic groups may influence the frames to which news content is attached. Framing will serve as one of the theoretical foundations for this project because issue and content frames in news stories constructed by newsroom practices include symbolic meaning based on the personal histories, ideologies, and experiences of the news gatherers, producers, and management personnel, which may be consciously or unconsciously incorporated into the stories and presented to the audience. The audience receives and interprets the message and accepts or rejects the frame based on the message receiver's personal history, ideology, experience, and the authority/credibility of the sources. Tankard and his colleagues (1991) define a frame as "a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (p. 526).

Telling a story containing an implicit or explicit point of view or frame often includes more than obvious words or phrases. Frames may be recognized in various forms, including text and/or visual images (Entman, 1993). Messaris and Abraham (2001) contend "implicit visual imagery" can convey meaning and construct racial/ethnic identity and perceptions (p. 221).

Reese (2007) discusses the theoretical and a-theoretical aspects of framing. The use of the term “framing” may be oversimplified and overused, but framing theory can apply to all communication and not just political communication, as long as the measurements and analyses are congruent across disciplines. Is it a “theory,” an “approach,” a “process” or a “bridging model?” Perhaps it can be all, depending on how it is studied. If tested in the news media’s representations of minority stereotypes, then it may be studied as a theory, where the texts and images can be coded and qualitatively and quantitatively measured and analyzed. Of course, this means creating taxonomies and reducing data, for which Reese (2007) expressed concern. Still, the results could offer an element of predictability: framing an issue or individual a certain way will most likely produce “X” effect.

PRIMING THEORY

The priming paradigm is applied in numerous studies suggesting that perceptions of racial/ethnic groups are stored in the memory and become part of her/his schema. When triggered by a stimulus, such as a racialized photo or text, the individual’s mind will activate the memory and associate the image with previously experienced exposures to the racial/ethnic group (Domke, 1998; Power, et al.,1996; Price & Tewksbury, 1997).

Domke (2001) theorizes the racial cues or symbols generally associated with a particular racial/ethnic group and generated through elite and media discourses and imagery “substantially influence whether citizens’ racial cognitions contribute to their political judgments” (p. 772). To test the theory, Domke (2001) conducted an experiment to test individuals discussing a race-related issue with racial cues, the relationship between an individual’s racial perceptions and political ideology, the relationship between racial perception and race-related issue positions, and the relationship between

political ideology and the race-related issue (p 778-779). Participants in the experiment included 160 undergraduate students enrolled in evening courses at a university in the Northwest United States. Each was measured on levels of agreement with specific statements on issue positions. Participants were primed with racial cues. Language associated with racial/ethnic groups, such as ghetto, and the attributes associated with racial/ethnic groups, such as “violent/hostile, nurturing/caring, lazy, intelligent, and weak” and the commonality of these traits among members of racial/ethnic groups were measured (p. 781). The data gathered from the queries to the participants discussing the race-related issue with and without the racial cue treatment were analyzed using a linear regression model. The results showed support for the hypotheses. Domke (2001) suggests priming participants with the absence or presence of racial cues in discourses on issues influences the relationship among an individual’s racial perceptions, political ideology, and issue evaluations (p. 788).

Dixon and Azocar (2007) used a two study experimental design to study the priming effect on television news viewers’ perceptions of Blacks in racialized news stories and participants’ perceptions of the “structural limitations to success” of Blacks, “support for the death penalty, and culpability judgments (p. 229). Study Two participants were exposed to images of Black, White, and unspecified criminal suspects and non-crime related news stories. The results found exposure to more Black suspect images were more likely to associate a criminal’s culpability than participants exposed to non-crime stories.

The effects of priming and processes involved with developing frames within news stories should work the same as the audience effects processes, since journalists are individual citizens and inculcated by the same social norms as every other citizen. Journalists, like everyone else, are instilled with a preconceived set of notions and

ideologies. Likewise, the news producers must also have possessed notions or perspectives, whether the perspectives are intuitively or cognitively developed. Thus, the forming of ideas or perspectives may be dependent on the individual's schemata.

SCHEMA THEORY

Schema theory (Widmayer, 2007) involves the classification or categorization of information that allows human beings to process information. Likewise, stereotyping is a process of categorization that allows information to fit into relevant categories. Framing, schema, and stereotyping processes share a common bond: a constructed interpretation of information. All three can be viewed as having a "set of organizing principles" (Reese, 2003) or rules (Widmayer, 2007) that allow the mind to process information.

Understanding the processes of creating a reality through media production (framing) can play a role in altering the mind's schema (notions) and thus alter behavior (stereotyping), which in turn allows news producers to take a different perspective to the table when reporting and presenting the stories. The process of incorporating an understanding of the three is cyclical. Framing, schema, and stereotyping can be studied and measured separately. This is not to suggest that the processes are sequential, but in terms of theory, it may be that they operate more in a circle, thus having no beginning or ending. For example, many studies have shown the overrepresentation of African Americans and other minorities as perpetrators of crime on local and network television news (Free, 2006; Dreier, 2005; Klein, 2003; Poindexter et al., 2003; Romer, Jamieson & De Coteau, 1998; Pritchard & Hughes, 1997 and others). If crime stories in general are framed with racially specific images (i.e. talking about general crime, but showing images of black or minority faces), then the images are either accepted or rejected into the viewer's schemata. If the image is accepted and fits the perception, the re-

presentation of that image is a stereotyped image (concluding that the image is representative of the entire population of blacks or minorities). But, if the images do not fit the schemata, the individual rejects the notion that all blacks or minorities are criminals. Again, while not sequential, altering any element of the organizing process may alter the other two. It appears that starting at the media frame position would be the logical location for change, if one believes media have moderate to strong effects. If network theory is close to this circular model of the cognitive processes in framing, developing schemata and stereotyping, then news media may be considered the hub or central control mechanism. However, society is constructed institutionally, as well as by family and peers, which would need to be taken into consideration and measured along with the media effects of representation.

However, studying stereotyping from a framing perspective may be seen more as a process. Stereotyping infers the assignment of certain attributes to groups or individuals, either intentionally or unintentionally and reproducing the attributes in the form of subtle or obvious texts, images, or inferences, for example, the association between blacks and welfare.

The cumulative thoughts, ideas, and perceptions within the human mind are most likely socially constructed and exist internally. Those thought, ideas, and perceptions are released through communication. How they are released (verbally, non-verbally, within news media content, personal communication, etc.) combined with the information structures the frame. Therefore, theoretically, frames evoke reinforcement and/or change and can be measured, tested, and reapplied. Nevertheless, the search for a more exact/universal framing theory remains a complex “project”, as Reese (2007) refers to it and while the research is well established on media representation of minorities and how

framing is applied to news media images and texts, it is just as important to acknowledge that the fundamental ideologies of news personnel influence the news product.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

A stereotype is defined as an organizational mechanism in the mind that tends to oversimplify a view of the world in order to better understand it (Lippmann, 1922). Stereotypes imply a generalization of people and behaviors. It is argued that stereotypes may be neither bad nor good, but rather an attitude or reaction to a stereotype may be positive or negative. The implementation of stereotypes is used to marginalize specific individuals or classes of people, as well as promote injustice. McCauley, Stitt, and Segal (1980) point out a differentiation between individual and group stereotypes. They posit that “a social stereotype” is not necessarily representative of the individuals within a group any more than the group is representative of the individual (p. 197). For example, images of African American women may be shown more often to represent “welfare mothers,” although African American women are not statistically representative of the percentage or numbers of mothers on government assistance (Gilliam, 1999).

The term journalist or student journalist refers to the individual who may gather video or facts, write, edit, or manage news content and who may be involved with any duties associated with the construction and presentation of a television news story.

Personal contact is understood as the mutual and equal friendship established between two individuals. High personal contact levels suggest more personal knowledge, empathy, and frequent associations, while low personal contact levels suggest social isolation from people with different racial/ethnic backgrounds.

SUMMARY

The literature on racial/ethnic representations, stereotyping, and framing minorities and minority issues in television newscasts indicates the most common method used to study a phenomenon is a content analysis of images and text to determine frequencies and/or correlations among news makers, news presenters, news content, and audience effects. However, the methods of constructing news texts and images for presentation are rarely discussed in the literature. In other words, how are the frames constructed in the news process of deciding which stories are told, who tells them, and from what point of view? The framing of the stories within the newscast must be constructed by the reporters, editors, and/or management decision makers. A story's frame may unconsciously reflect a dominant and accepted ideology or tradition and base minority representations on stereotyped assumptions or misunderstandings without question. Frame construction may explain how and why minority and majority news personnel interpret, act or react, and perceive "otherness" and the issues being presented. Vedantam (2010) argues that the unconscious biases hidden within a person's brain can influence the decisions individuals make and the unconscious is capable of overriding a conscious effort to eliminate bias and prejudice.

The frames, schemata, and stereotypes created by journalists may be the manifestations of unconscious racial/ethnic biases developed by limited knowledge and social interaction beyond her/his in-group. Although journalists may consciously deny racial/ethnic prejudices and consciously work to avoid derogatory and/or stereotypical representations of race/ethnicity, measuring the level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic groups by assessing the frequency of personal social interactions will more accurately identify knowledge about and empathy for those in different racial/ethnic groups.

If the level of knowledge and contact is known, the researcher can test the news producer as she/he assembles the elements of a television news story which includes stereotypical and non-stereotypical images and racially coded texts, and then analyze the outcome to determine if personal contact influences the story. Deciding whether a producer falls into the high personal contact or low personal contact group can be accomplished through a series of questions within a pre-test questionnaire. The questions are derived from questions found in previous studies. Ransford (1968) wanted to find out if racially isolated individuals were more likely to engage in violent behavior than the individual's racial cohorts that had intimate contact with Whites. Ransford interviewed a sample of African Americans in Los Angeles following the 1968 Watts riot, asking specific questions taken from previous racial isolation studies. Although Ransford's study measured the racial isolation of African-Americans to Whites, the questions can be adapted and applied to include any and all racial/ethnic individuals' contact with other racial/ethnic groups or individuals. In other words, instead of measuring Black versus White, "student's race/ethnicity" versus "different races/ethnicities" will be measured. Ransford posits that the contact must be "of an intimate and equal status nature, a kind of contact that would facilitate easy communication between the races (p. 584).

In the present study, the key question to measure is the level of personal contact in the pretest, which is used in the Williams (1964) and Ransford (1968) studies: "Have you ever done anything social with white people, like going to the movies together or visiting in each other's homes" (Williams, 1964, p. 185; Ransford, 1968, p. 584)? While this question is important, adding several more activities will provide a better indication of close and frequent interaction, thus, altering the question to read, Have you ever done anything social with a person from a different racial/ethnic group, including gone to the

movies, visited in each other's homes, gone shopping, gone to dinner, played on a sports team, worked on a class project, or shared a living arrangement?

Because college journalism students will be assuming the gatekeeping positions within news organizations soon after graduation, it will be worthwhile to investigate the students' level of personal contact with different races/ethnicities and how the level of personal contact may affect the selection of stereotypical images. Coleman (2006) used an experimental design to explore ethics in photojournalism among college students and argues that studying a student population is appropriate when the study "is not concerned with generalizability" (p. 840). So, as this study explores evidence of a relationship between personal contact and selecting stereotypical images, it cannot be generalized to a population outside the college journalism school(s) where the experiment is conducted and testing a student population is suitable.

An experimental design is appropriate for this study as it has been used in previous racial research, even though the exact nature of the research is different. Ramasubramanian (2007) conducted a two-by-two-by-two factorial experiment to test the hypotheses that suggest racial literacy and counter-stereotypical news stories about African Americans, Asians, and Indians will affect the speed of recognizing the stereotype and reduce the activation of stereotypes primed by television news stories. The results showed exposure to counter-stereotypical news stories and receiving critical instruction on media and media skills reduced "the activation of implicit racial stereotypes" (p. 258).

Therefore, an experiment with college student journalists will test the following hypotheses:

H1: Journalism students with personal contact networks that include individuals of different racial/ethnic backgrounds will tend to select non-stereotypical images of

racial/ethnic individuals or groups in racially coded news stories focusing on social issues, in comparison to students with homogeneous personal contact networks, whether or not she/he is primed to think about race prior to the selection.

H2: Journalism students with a low level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic individuals, when primed to think about race/ethnicity, will select non-stereotypical racial/ethnic images of individuals or groups in racially coded news stories focusing on social issues.

The images and social issues to be manipulated for the experimental design center around representations of African Americans, which as the literature shows, are the most prominently stereotyped racial/ethnic group. It is a plausible assumption that African American students will select non-stereotypical photos regardless if they have a high or low level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic groups because the social issues to be used are racialized toward African American stereotypes. Since the study participants will be college students from any self-identified racial/ethnic background, the study will test for effects between race and the level of personal contact.

Coleman (2011) conducted an experiment with Black college journalism students to examine the relationship between race and ethical reasoning by presenting social issues with or without photographs of either Blacks or Whites. The results suggest that African American journalism students showed no racial preference toward Blacks in racial dilemmas.

Using the same premise, the present study will ask the following research question:

RQ1: Is there an interaction between the race/ethnicity of the journalist and the level of personal contact on a non-stereotypical photo selection?

A qualitative analysis of the participants' responses to open-ended questions in the manipulation check will elaborate on how participants recognized stereotypes, set forth criteria for selecting specific photographs, and rationalizing each choice of photograph which the participant believes best represents the content and context of the news story:

RQ 2: What is the relationship between a student journalist's knowledge and recognition of racial codes and stereotypes and selecting stereotypical or non-stereotypical images that represent the text in television news stories focusing on social issues?

This project is designed to advance the literature and the theoretical understanding of priming, stereotyping, and image selection during the news production process and offer a deeper knowledge and understanding of how ideologies and internal biases are transferred from the journalist to the news presentations being constructed. It seeks to build upon theories of framing and the personal contact hypothesis, where methodological standards may be established and open the door to future studies on larger and more generalizable populations.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This study hypothesizes that journalism students with a high level of personal contact with members of different racial/ethnic groups will avoid selecting news images with stereotypical representations of racial/ethnic individuals or groups when constructing a television news story focused on social issues. Students with a low level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic groups will select stereotypical racial/ethnic images. However, if primed to think about the common misconceptions of African American stereotypes, the students with a high level of personal contact and the students with a low level of contact will avoid the stereotypical images. An experimental design using a 2x2 between subjects factorial was used to test the hypotheses. The four factors were High Level of Personal Contact, Low Level of Personal Contact, Control Test without a priming essay countering stereotypes, and Treatment Test with a priming essay countering stereotypes.

The experiment consisted of an online pre-test and an in-person exercise and tested 128 college students enrolled in at least one journalism course at two large Southwestern universities in the United States. Participants completing parts one and two of the experiment were eligible for a drawing for an iPad2 or one of four \$25 gift cards. An additional incentive for extra course credit was available to participants if offered by individual professors. The invitation to participate was distributed to all students enrolled in journalism courses by e-mail, personal classroom visits by the principle investigator, and bulletin board flyers. Students choosing to participate contacted the principal investigator and received an e-mail containing an Institutional Review Board approved informed consent statement and an Internet link to the online pre-test. Each subject was issued a Participant Number.

PARTICIPANTS

The 128 participants (97 females, 31 males) were undergraduate and graduate college students enrolled in at least one journalism course (Table 1).

Table 1

Experiment Participants by Academic Standing

Classification	<i>n</i>	%
Junior	44	34
Senior	33	26
Sophomore	28	22
Freshmen	14	11
Graduate	9	7
TOTAL	128	100

The racial/ethnic composition of the participants is reported in Table 2 (Table 2).

Table 2

Racial/Ethnic Composition of Participants

Race/Ethnicity	<i>n</i>	%
White	70	55
Hispanic	24	19
Asian	14	11
AfricanAmerican	12	9
MultiRace	8	6
TOTAL	128	100

Testing materials were distributed evenly with 64 receiving the Control with no prime and 64 receiving the Treatment with prime. There were 32 subjects in each of the four factorial categories, thus, 32 subjects in the High Contact Level received the control test and 32 received the treatment test. Equally, 32 subjects in the Low Contact Level received a control test with no prime and 32 received the treatment test with the prime.

MANIPULATION CHECK

A manipulation check was performed to ensure that the perceptions of racially coded texts and photos were consistent with what was meant. Five racial/ethnic groups were listed from which to choose: “African American,” “Asian,” “Hispanic,” “Native American,” or “White.” Ten photos showed African Americans and 10 showed Whites. Five television news scripts were racially/coded and focused on “Mothers in Poverty,” “Violent Crime,” “Student Athletes,” “Southern Poverty/Unemployment,” and “Teen Pregnancy.” All five stories were meant to be stereotypical. The percentages of participants that correctly associated a minority group (African American, Hispanic, or Native American) with the text exceeded 50 percent in all five stories (Poverty-mothers = 64%, Violent Crime = 100%, Student Athletes = 57%, Poverty-unemployment = 71%, Teen Pregnancy = 64%).

The 14 participants in the manipulation check correctly identified the race/ethnicity in all but two photos (ranging from 71% to 100%). The two incorrectly identified photos (0.0%) were replaced and 93 percent of the 14 additional participants correctly identified the two photos as depicting an African American and a White.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

Part 1 – Online Pre-test

Participants were asked to answer questions about their social activities and personal contact with individuals or groups from different racial/ethnic groups and to self-identify her/his race/ethnicity. Questions asking about contact with people from different political, religious, and sexual orientations, social media use, news media use, along with demographic questions identifying sex, age, and year in school were not analyzed, but used to mask the true nature of the study so that participants were not primed to think about race prior to the in-person experiment (Appendix A). The order of the questions was designed to avoid attention being drawn to the racial/ethnic questions. Lasorsa (2003) tested for the effects of question order in surveys by offering subjects three different versions of the same questions. The results concur with previous findings that question order matters, but also suggests “that the solution is not simply to add ‘buffer’ items, but to consider carefully the cognitive processes underlying the survey situation” (p. 509).

The question to be measured and analyzed to determine the level of personal contact asked: “Anytime during my lifetime, I have socialized with a person from a different racial/ethnic group” followed by a list of social activities: a) gone to the movies; b) visited in each other’s homes; c) gone shopping; d) gone to dinner; e) played on a sports team; f) worked on a class project; and g) shared a living arrangement, such as a dorm floor, suite, or room, apartment, or house. Answer choices used a seven-point scale for each activity: Very often (9 times or more), Often (7-8 times), Occasionally (5-6 times), Neutral/No answer, Seldom (3-4 times), Very Rarely (1-2 times), or Never (0 times). A point scale was assigned to each answer ranging from six (6) points for Very

Often to zero (0) points for Never. Zero (0) points were given for answering Neutral. The points were added for each participant and the median of 36 points was calculated.

Participants scoring more than 36 points ($n = 59$) were placed into the High Personal Contact category and those scoring fewer than 36 points ($n = 62$) were placed into the Low Personal Contact category. Of the seven participants scoring the median 36 points, five were placed in the High Personal Contact category ($n = 5$) and two were placed in the Low Personal Contact category ($n = 2$) so that both categories contain 64 participants.

Part 2 – In-Person Exercise

Participants arriving for the in-person session were assigned to receive one of two tests: Control or Treatment. Assignments of the tests were made according to the Personal Contact level so that the tests were distributed evenly between High and Low Contact levels, with equal numbers in each group. The Control ($n = 32$) and Treatment ($n = 32$) tests contained the same television scripts and photographs, but the Treatment test contained a one-page article designed to prime the participant to think about common misconceptions of racial/ethnic stereotypes compiled from academic research journals, industry publications, news outlets, and governmental agencies (Appendix B). Five actual news stories were taken from various news outlets and rewritten into a television news script style. Most of the stories were racially coded from the originating publication and those that contained more subtle racial implications were embellished with racially coded words without referring to a specific race or ethnicity. A collection of four photographs followed the text in each set depicting individuals in poses or actions related to the topic of the story (Appendix C). Each photo set contained one African

American and one White in virtually the same pose and another African American and another White in another like pose (Appendix D).

The in-person experiment was administered in a working newsroom atmosphere where subjects were seated at a computer terminal with the assigned test appearing on the screen and were asked to read through the script and choose one photograph that best represents the story, then scroll to the next story and photo set, and so on. Participants were told the photo was to be used as an “over-the-shoulder” graphic which appears to one side or behind the anchor on screen in a television newscast. Subjects were instructed to base photo selections on content and not quality of the photo. A paper and pen answer sheet was used to mark the photo number for each of the five sets by writing the number of each photo choice in the space corresponding to each set. Computer assignments were made to ensure that subjects receiving the treatment packet could not observe the subjects reading the control packet. Thirty minutes was allotted for each testing session, but most participants completed the exercise within 10 to 15 minutes.

Participants were instructed to remain at the computer when finished and wait until everyone in the session had finished. All paper answer sheets were collected and subjects were informed of the true nature of the study and were given an opportunity to ask questions and discuss any concerns. Participants were admonished to avoid discussing the experiment with classmates that had not yet participated.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

An underlying question in testing college students’ identification of stereotypes asks if participants share a relatively uniform interpretation of race/ethnicity and are able to recognize a stereotype as a stereotype. Responses to questions in the manipulation check were analyzed to provide insight into a typical college student’s specific reasons

for choosing one photograph over the others. Although the manipulation check was designed to test the materials to be used in the experiment and not test the individual participant, information gathered from the questionnaire, specifically from two open-ended questions, provided additional data from which to draw examples and illustrations on how typical college students recognize and respond to mediated stereotypes.

An invitation to participate was extended to a large class enrolled in a liberal arts summer course at a large Southwestern United States university. Students wishing to participate were asked to contact the principle investigator to receive an Institutional Review Board approved informed consent statement and instructions on when and where to attend one of several testing sessions available throughout the day. All participants completing the paper-and-pencil test were eligible for a drawing for one of two \$50 gift cards. No additional course credit was offered.

Participants arriving at the testing location were given a test packet with a Participant Number listed on the envelope and the materials inside. Privacy and confidentiality standards were in place so to avoid any association between the participants' answers and their personal information and identification.

Fourteen participants (nine females and five males) were allowed 45 minutes to complete the exercise. Each questionnaire packet contained the materials to be used in the experimental design to be conducted at a later date: five television news scripts, four sets of photographs for each of the five scripts, five essays describing general television production practices with no mention of race/ethnicity, and five essays contradicting commonly perceived stereotypes of racial/ethnic groups compiled from academic research, trade publications, and governmental statistics (Appendix E). Participants were asked to evaluate the scripts, photos, and essays. The evaluations were examined and coded to reflect three prominent themes in identifying stereotypes based on answers to

the open-ended question in each set: *personal perception*, *public's perception*, and *media's perception* (Appendix F). Following the participant's selection of the one photo from a set of four that best represents the text in the script, the participant was asked, "What compelled you to choose this photo?" Answers indicating a personal thought or feeling ("I think...") were included as a *personal perception*. Answers suggesting that everyone else believes or perceives the stereotype ("They say...", "The public believes...") were placed in the *public's perception* category. Answers relegating responsibility for stereotypes to media ("Media always show...") followed the *media's perception* theme.

Examples were drawn from each of the three themes and included answers to four primary questions: 1) "Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?"; 2) "What caused you to think of this race?"; 3) "Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?"; and 4) "What compelled you to choose this photo?" A secondary question was included in the comparison of the *perceived race in the script* and *the photo selection* answers following the reading of the stereotype disclaimer essay: "Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?"

The information collected from the manipulation check responses provides anecdotal evidence to help illustrate what the participant may be thinking as racially coded texts are read and photos are selected.

Chapter 5: Results

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The analysis of the effect of personal contact level and the test administered on the selection of a non-stereotypical photo was calculated using a two-way between-subjects analysis of variance with *level of personal contact* (high or low) and *test taken* (primed or not primed) as the independent variables and a *non-stereotypical photo selection* as the dependent variable. The analysis was performed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 19.

H1 states journalism students with a high level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic individuals will select non-stereotypical photos in racially coded news stories about social issues whether or not they are primed to think about race prior to the selection. *H2* posits that journalism students with a low level of personal contact, when primed to think about race/ethnicity, will select non-stereotypical images.

The number of non-stereotypical photos selected was calculated for each participant in each of the four independent variable groups: High Personal Contact, Low Personal Contact, Control (not primed), and Treatment (primed). Most participants selected approximately three out of five non-stereotypical photos, with a mean number of non-stereotypical photos ranging from 2.97 to 3.53 and a standard deviation ranging from .94 to 1.20 (Table 3).

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Independent Variables: Level of Personal Contact (High and Low) and Test (Primed and No Prime)

Level	Test	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
High	No Prime	32	3.53	.95
	Primed	32	2.97	1.20
	Total	64	3.25	1.11
Low	No Prime	32	3.22	.94
	Primed	32	3.19	1.18
	Total	64	3.20	1.06
Total	No Prime	64	3.37	.95
	Primed	64	3.08	1.19
	Total	128	3.23	1.08

Dependent Variable = Non-Stereotypical Photograph Selection

The Levene's test for equality of variances showed there was homogeneity of variance between groups, with three degrees of freedom within each group and 124 degrees of freedom in the total sample (subjects) and a significance of .232, which is greater than .05, ($F(3, 124) = 1.447, P = .232$). This indicates the variance in the mean number of non-stereotypical photos selected by participants in the level group was approximately equal to the variance in the mean number of photos selected by participants in the test groups. The ANOVA calculation showed no significant main effects for the “level of personal contact” ($F(1, 127) = .06, P = .80$), indicating the selection of a non-stereotypical photo did not significantly depend on the participant’s level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic groups. Similarly, the analysis showed no significant main effects for the primed or not primed test administered ($F(1,$

127) = 2.44, $P = .12$), indicating the selection of a non-stereotypical photo did not significantly depend on the participant not being primed by receiving a test containing text and photos only nor being primed by receiving a treatment test containing a racial/ethnic stereotype disclaimer essay. Likewise, the interaction effect, or rather the influence between a combination of the level of personal contact and the primed or not primed test administered may have on the selection of a non-stereotypical photo, produced no statistical significance ($F(1, 127) = 1.95, P = .17$). While the main effects analysis showed that there was no significance, receiving a control or treatment test had greater influence on a non-stereotypical photo ($P = .12$) than did the level of personal contact ($P = .81$). The partial eta-squared figures represent estimated effect sizes for each factor (Personal Contact Level and Priming Test) and the interaction (Personal Contact Level + Priming Test), controlling for the other factors. The Level variable has an extremely high p-value (0.81), and correspondingly its partial eta-squared is 0.00. This means that the Level variable accounts for essentially none of the variance found in the outcome variable after taking into account the Priming Test and the Level plus Priming interaction. However, the Priming Test is a little better, accounting for 12% of the variation, while the interaction accounts for about 17%.

The low power findings suggest that it is very difficult to observe any difference in the means due to the sample size (Table 4).

Table 4

Two-Way Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance Effects for Independent Variables: Level of Personal Contact, Priming, and Level + Priming Combined

	<i>df</i>	F	p-value/Sig	<i>Partial Eta</i> ²
Personal Contact	1	.06	.81	.00
Priming	1	2.44	.12	.02
Personal Contact*Priming	1	1.95	.17	.02
<i>error</i>	124			
Total	128			
Corrected Total	127			

Dependent Variable = Non-Stereotypical Photograph Selection
No Significance, $P > .05$

RQ1 asks if the race/ethnicity of the subject and the level of personal contact influence a non-stereotypical photo selection. Again, a between-subjects ANOVA was used to test the effect of the level of personal contact and the race of the journalist on the selection of non-stereotypical photos.

The “race” of the subject was now included as an independent variable along with the high or low level of contact. An ANOVA was appropriate for analysis even though there were five separate races identified and since each racial group was represented in both high and low personal contact levels. The number of non-stereotypical photos selected was calculated for each participant in each of the independent variable groups: High Personal Contact, Low Personal Contact, White, Hispanic, Asian, African

American, and Multi-racial. Most participants selected approximately three out of five non-stereotypical photos, with a mean number of non-stereotypical photos ranging from 2.50 to 3.58 and a standard deviation ranging from .52 to 1.50 (Table 5).

Table 5
Means and Standard Deviations for Independent Variables: Level of Personal Contact and Race of the Subject

Level of Contact	Race	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
High	AfrAm	8	3.00	1.41
	Asian	8	3.13	1.46
	Hispanic	12	3.58	1.00
	MultiRace	4	3.25	.96
	White	32	3.22	1.04
Total		64	3.25	1.11
Low	AfrAm	4	2.50	1.29
	Asian	6	2.67	.52
	Hispanic	12	3.42	1.24
	MultiRace	4	3.25	1.50
	White	38	3.29	.98
Total		64	3.20	1.06
Total	AfrAm	12	2.83	1.34
	Asian	14	2.93	1.14
	Hispanic	24	3.50	1.10
	MultiRace	8	3.25	1.17
	White	70	3.26	1.00
Total		128	3.23	1.08

Dependent Variable = Non-Stereotypical Photograph Selection

The Levene's test for equality of variances showed there was homogeneity of variance between groups, with nine degrees of freedom within all groups and 118 degrees of freedom in the total sample (subjects) and a significance of .26, which is greater than .05, ($F(9, 118) = 1.27, P = .26$), which indicates the variance in the mean number of non-stereotypical photos selected by participants in the level group was approximately equal to the variance in the mean number of photos selected by participants in each of the five racial/ethnic groups.

The ANOVA calculation showed no significant main effects for the “level of personal contact” ($F(1, 127) = .66, P = .42$), indicating the selection of a non-stereotypical photo did not significantly depend on the participant’s level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic groups. Also, the analysis showed no significant main effects for the “race” of the subject ($F(4, 127) = 1.20, P = .32$), indicating the selection of a non-stereotypical photo did not significantly depend on the participant’s self-identified race/ethnicity. The interaction effect, or rather the influence between a combination of the level of personal contact and the race of the subject may have on the selection of a non-stereotypical photo, produced no statistical significance ($F(4, 127) = .29, P = .88$). The partial Eta-squared figures are an indication of a low effect size and in this analysis, as found in the analysis above, the power of .00 for the level and .02 for both the race and combined level and race analysis was not strong enough to detect a significant difference in the means (Table 6).

Table 6

Two-Way Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance Effects for Independent Variables: Level of Personal Contact, Race of Subject, and Level + Race of Subject Combined

	<i>df</i>	F	p-value/Sig	<i>Partial Eta</i> ²
Level	1	.06	.80	.00
Race	1	2.44	.12	.02
Level*Race	1	1.95	.17	.02
<i>error</i>	124			
Total	128			
Corrected Total	127			

Dependent Variable = Non-Stereotypical Photograph Selection
No Significance, $p > .05$

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The primary reason for analyzing the responses from the manipulation check was to offer anecdotal evidence to help illustrate how a typical college student may recognize and associate racially coded texts with stereotypical or non-stereotypical photographic images. Why were specific photos chosen? Did the race/ethnicity of the person in the photos match the mental image produced during the reading of the television scripts? If the student was given information dispelling myths about a minority group, would the student be more likely to choose a non-stereotypical image?

Answers to open-ended questions revealed that most participants selected a specific photo based on personal perception. Participant Eight said that one of the photos was chosen because, "It has an African American man and that's the race I thought the script talked about." While some participants qualified their responses in the first person,

using “I,” others made simple statements about the photo, such as Participant One’s observation that, “She looks really young and really upset about the news that she is pregnant.”

Several of the respondents were hesitant to include the identification of a stereotype as the result of a *personal* perception, but rather the general public’s collective perception. For example, Participant Nine stated the selection of an African American was made because, “You don’t hear much of white teenagers getting pregnant more than a minority” and “They tend to relate African Americans with athletes.” Participant 19 offers that, “Blacks are often the focus when talking about athletes.”

One participant avoided identifying the stereotype as a personal perception by associating stereotypes as a media product: “Most media always show African Americans getting arrested.” Participant 15 said, “This photo captures the emotion of a teen finding out she is pregnant. Media would feed off this emotion.”

Regardless of which of the three major themes or tones of the *personal*, *public*, or *media* categories the responses were placed, participants were able to recognize the racial codes and stereotypes as evidenced by noting the words that triggered a specific image, such as “urban,” “Detroit,” “Chicago,” “gangs,” “immigration,” “rural areas, fewer educational opportunities,” “New Orleans,” and “Haiti.”

The triggering of the image of a specific race/ethnicity while reading the scripts most often matched what the researcher expected. In other words, the participant imagining a minority while reading each of the five news scripts focusing on mothers in poverty, violent crime, student athletes, Southern poverty/unemployment, and teen pregnancy were generally consistent with the researcher’s expectations. However, there were some discrepancies in what racial/ethnic group the participants imagined and the race/ethnicity of the photos selected. For instance, Participant Four thought of an African

American when reading the script about mothers in poverty, but selected a photo depicting a White mother with children as the best representative of the text, because “She looked the most motherly due to the closeness of the camera.” This example was the only one that made a choice based on photographic technique and not on the action or subject in the photograph. Still, others offered additional insight into why one race/ethnicity was imagined and another race/ethnicity was representative of the text, as in the reason given by Participant Two when selecting a photograph of a White after thinking the script focusing on Southern poverty/unemployment was alluding to African Americans: “Sign says ‘Homeless.’”

Finally, the effectiveness of reading an essay countering myths of racial/ethnic groups that lead to common misconceptions and stereotypes was qualitatively analyzed. Will a student change her/his mind about selecting a stereotypical photo after reading the disclaimer (priming) essay? The participants read a priming essay for each of the five sets of scripts. Most said they would not change their original choice of photos even after receiving information rejecting a specific racial/ethnic stereotype. The major exception to this trend was after reading the priming essay countering stereotypes involved in violent crime and/or teen pregnancy, eight of the 14 participants indicated they would change their mind and select a different (non-stereotypical) photo if they had read the essay *before* selecting a photo. The relationships and implications between the essays and the photo selection are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The results showing no significance in the interaction between any of the variables did offer some encouraging information. Slight differences were noticeable, although not significant, between the level of personal contact and the selection of non-stereotypical photos ($P = .12$). Also, when looking at the differences between personal contact level and race, African Americans with low personal contact with members of different racial/ethnic groups had a lower P-value ($P = .17$) than African Americans with high personal contact levels ($P = .50$). Likewise, Asians in the low contact group ($P = .20$) were close to the African Americans' scores. All other races had P levels greater than .42 in both high and low level categories.

Understanding why no significance was found is a daunting task since the findings are contrary to previous research and conventional intuition. Classifying the level of personal contact replicates and is consistent with the methods utilized in previous studies (Allport, 1954; Reed, 1980; and others), so it is necessary to look at another area for possible methodological shortcomings.

The instruments used to test student journalists included racialized photos and texts containing the same words and phrases applied to negative attitudes toward minority racial groups were consisted with the attributes associated with African American stereotypes (Katz & Braly, 1933; Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, et al., 1995; Poindexter, 2011; and others). Devine and Elliot (1995) challenged over 50 years of research methodology only to find uniformity. Likewise, the method of exposing subjects to racialized photos is consistent with decades of research (Coleman, 2012; and others).

Because slight differences were noticed between the level of personal contact and the selection of a non-stereotypical image, it may be plausible to surmise the sample

population may be problematic. It is speculative, yet reasonable to ask whether the results might have been significant if the experiment involved more student journalists or perhaps tested a sample from the general population since college students tend to be a largely homogeneous group and, when isolated in specialized disciplines, may tend to be even more so. Most all previous studies drew from a general student or regional population.

Non-significant findings are not to suggest that the phenomena are not happening in reality on a case by case basis. In the data mined from the manipulation check and student responses to questions about why specific photos were selected, it is easy to see how there may not be significance detected in considering the effect of the priming variable on the other factors. When asked if the participant would select a different photo if the priming essay had been read before making a photo selection, the overwhelming response was “no.” This could mean that the essay did nothing to increase the understanding and knowledge challenging the commonly accepted stereotype by participants selecting a stereotypical photo or it could indicate that participants selecting non-stereotypical photos were satisfied with their selection and therefore, the prime had no effect. But, the participants that said they would change their selection if they had read the essay prior to selecting were prominently found in the story sets focusing on violent crime and teen pregnancy. Participants that first thought of African Americans while reading the script about violent crime and consequently selected a photo of an African American as the best representative of the text, said they would have selected an alternative photo had the priming essay been read prior to the selection process. Also, the same photo was selected by most of the participants which showed an African American male wearing a white tank-top, commonly referred to as a “wife-beater” shirt and sporting a “buzzed” or shaved head. The probability of the priming essay having a

positive effect is evidenced by Participant Six's response to the story focusing on violent crime. Although originally, images of Hispanics came to mind while reading the script based on the racially coded words "Chicago," "gangs," and "street thug activities," a photo of an African American was chosen to represent the text due to "The manner in which the arrested subject is dressed" and a photo showing Hispanics was not included in the choices. Still, when asked if another photo would have been selected if the priming essay were read first, the participant said "yes." Similarly, the same tendency was indicated in the teen pregnancy set where the participants first racial/ethnic impression was different from the race/ethnicity of the photo's subject. Participant Nine's responses exemplify the possible positive priming effect for thinking of Hispanics while reading the script about teen pregnancy because, "I hear this mainly coming from Hispanics." Yet, Participant Nine chose a photo depicting African Americans because, "You don't hear much of white teenagers getting pregnant more than a minority." The priming essay made valid arguments rejecting this commonly held notion and when asked if another photo would have been selected if this essay had been read before choosing a photo, the response was "yes."

The qualitative analysis showed that college students are aware of stereotypes and are capable of identifying the words and phrases that may trigger stereotypical images even if they may not be aware that images provoked by the racial codes embedded in the narratives communicated through news stories are stereotypes, or that the selection of a stereotypical image to illustrate a news story may do nothing more than trigger further stereotypical thinking. Participant One exemplified what in some cases might be a peculiar cognitive and behavioral rift of which the person might not be consciously aware.

In a news story which Participant One stated “Chicago and Detroit” as the words that triggered a thought of African Americans, the person appeared to be aware that equating Chicago and Detroit as urban areas with high violent crime rates was stereotypical.

When asked to describe the process by which the chosen photograph was selected to illustrate this news story, Participant One reported wanting to choose the photo containing an African American because “He is out in the city where the script suggests the most crime takes place.”

Yet, of the four photographs nominated to accompany this news story, none of the photos depicted any reference or images of a city. Two photos showed close-up shots of the palms of hands in handcuffs and the other two showed an arrested man (one African American and the other White in virtually identical poses and camera angles) in handcuffs being escorted by a law enforcement officer. Only a wall or perhaps a door is visible in the background and no sidewalks, buildings, trees, or vehicles typically associated with a city-scape are observed in any of the photos.

While the person at the center of attention in the selected photo could be a criminal, there is no apparent evidence of being apprehended within a city setting. What is apparent is that he is African American.

Participant One seemed to be aware that it is stereotypical to link urban areas with violent crime and African Americans, and while the participant appeared to have a rational reason for choosing a photograph (wanting to choose a picture showing a “city” setting), the participant, nonetheless, seemed to go out of the way to select a stereotypical image that clearly contradicted the participant’s own rationale and selection criterion.

This study attempted to go beyond the traditional exploration of journalistic routines and practices and looked for a possible explanation for the stereotypical

representation of race/ethnicity in television news content and delve into the development of a journalist's "unconscious biases" (Vedantam, 2010) and ideologies, based on life experiences, which are then transferred into the texts and images in news content. Perhaps asking "why" the journalist selected a specific photo will help inform us about the journalist's intent or objective.

The results of this study validate the theoretical foundations on which it was based. The five news stories framed social issues in terms of race/ethnicity by embedding implicit words and phrases that triggered a conception of the context of the story and thus, fit positively or negatively within the student journalist's internal racial/ethnic schema. Evidence of this process is exemplified in the qualitative case discussed previously where the journalist recognized the racial/ethnic undertones, cognitively sought to reject the stereotype, but continued to select a stereotypical image. However, the theoretical implications of the dissonance between an individual's schema and subsequent behavior are worthy of future research as it applies to this study.

This study offered a better understanding of priming theories by exposing how priming effects differed based on the amount of time that elapses between the priming stimuli and the action, reaction, or behavior being measured. For example, the questions in the pre-test to determine an individual's level of personal contact with different races/ethnicities to be tested in the experiment were covertly inserted among questions having no connection to race/ethnicity. In the post-experiment debriefing, every participant responding to an informal question about whether or not the participant figured out during the pre-test that the experiment would focus on race or the participant was thinking about race at the beginning of the experiment said they had no indication that the study focused on race/ethnicity. Therefore, the avoidance of a prime worked as expected. However, when the priming essay was inserted within the body of the

materials in the experiment, the prime was not significant in affecting a non-stereotypical image. This application of priming suggests the effects of the theory are not uniform, but rather dependent on variables such as duration of the prime, schema of the individual, and the time between receiving the prime and the behavioral action or reaction to the prime.

Perhaps the most interesting and substantial contribution to a better understanding of the personal contact theory is the finding of no statistical significance among college students' level of personal contact with different racial/ethnic individuals or groups and the selection of a stereotypical or non-stereotypical image. In 1954, when Allport conducted his seminal research, the United States, specifically the South, was entrenched in segregation and Jim Crow laws enacted to disenfranchise and oppress African Americans. Many Whites willingly chose to avoid Blacks and had very few opportunities to unwillingly interact with Blacks, especially in institutionalized settings. Follow-up studies of the personal contact hypothesis have confirmed the original findings, but when studying racial/ethnic attitudes and prejudice, the research indicates a profound shift in how college age students perceive minorities. Through the 1990s and 2000s, a concerted effort has been made in public and government institutions to encourage cultural, racial, and ethnical inclusion, diversity, and tolerance. The cohort that includes college age students has been exposed to an American narrative much different than that of their parents and grandparents, even though cases of racial segregation can still be found throughout the United States. The personal contact hypothesis as applied to race/ethnicity or other out-groups may be becoming irrelevant when studying younger aged subjects because this generation has had less exposure to segregation, exclusionary laws, and perhaps most importantly, new technological news and entertainment delivery systems and devices that allow the viewer personal control over the content being accessed.

Professional broadcast news producers could benefit from this study by acknowledging that if students are capable of recognizing the racially coded language in a news story, perhaps an older population will be able to do the same, even if the older viewers are unaware that it was the framing of the story that triggered images that are considered stereotypical. Electronic news editors and journalists may consider making a conscious effort to avoid using the racially coded and stereotypical words, phrases, and images. The key to creating a more accurate portrayal of minorities in the news is to educate the professional and not just the student journalist.

In future research, it may be useful to incorporate similar perspectives found in the Parasocial Contact Hypothesis (Schiappa, et al., 2005), which posits that parasocial contact through mass media should produce the same socially beneficial effects as interpersonal contact. On the one hand, this may be problematic when trying to research how stereotypes are presented and re-presented since the parascocial contact is made through the media perpetuating the stereotypes in the first place through news, magazines, movies, and reality, drama, and entertainment television programs. On the other hand, if stereotypes are so deeply embedded in the mediated messages audiences receive, it is no wonder that the level of personal contact and whether or not a journalist has factual knowledge contradicting the commonly accepted portrayals of minorities and out-groups has no significant interactive effect. Yet, another explanation for the lack of significance using this limited sample size may be that many student journalists have been exposed to curricula specifically designed to eliminate racial/ethnic bias and they have grown up in a culture of more interracial marriage, tolerance, and diversity training that fosters a culture of recognizing racialized images and text as stereotypes. Therefore, future research should test the hypotheses with subjects from more heterogeneous regions

of the country, and recruit professional journalists either exclusively or along with student journalists as study participants.

Understanding how and why stereotypes are pervasive in today's media culture will offer journalism educators and others an addition tool for developing curricula designed to teach students to think beyond the sometimes hidden, but most generally obvious, stereotypical representations in news stories. Ramasubramanian (2007) suggests a two-level approach to curtail racial/ethnic stereotypes by increasing media literacy through critical media studies in general and by teaching the avoidance of using stereotypical words and messages in texts in particular.

Finding no statistical significance in the results of the present study may be indicative of the successful pedagogical commitment to racial/ethnic diversity instruction and studies found at the two universities from which the sample was drawn. Perhaps it may be the result of a generational shift in cultural, racial, and ethnic understanding and tolerance. If so, then in the future, racial/ethnic stereotypes should be vanishing from mediated news stories. Meanwhile, research must continue to examine the causes and effects of the ubiquitous and persistent misrepresentation of racial/ethnic groups through news messages.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

PRE-TEST

Text as entered into the Qualtrics[®] survey builder program.

1. What is your participant number?

=====

2. On money and financial matters, I consider myself:

___ Conservative

___ Moderate

___ Liberal

___ Neutral/no opinion

3. On social issues, I consider myself:

___ Conservative

___ Moderate

___ Liberal

___ Neutral/no opinion

4. With which political party do you most identify?

- ☐ Democrat
- ☐ Green
- ☐ Libertarian
- ☐ Republican
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____.
- ☐ I don't identify with any party.

5. On religious matters, I consider myself:

- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Moderate
- ☐ Liberal
- ☐ Neutral/no opinion

6 With which religion do you most identify?

- ☐ Buddhism
- ☐ Christianity
- ☐ Hinduism
- ☐ Islam
- ☐ Judaism
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____.
- ☐ I do not identify with any religion

7 I strictly follow the teachings of my religious affiliation.

(7 point scale from Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree)

Strongly Disagree

Disagree

Somewhat Disagree

Neither Disagree nor Agree

Somewhat Agree

Agree

Strongly Agree

8 What do you consider your race/ethnicity to be?

___ African-American

___ Asian (including South Asia)

___ Hispanic

___ Native American

___ White

___ Other (please identify) _____.

___ Multi-racial/ethnic (please identify) _____.

9. Where do you get your news most often?

___ Internet

___ Newspaper

___ Radio

___ Smart phone

___ Television

___ Other (please specify) _____.

10. How often do you access news?

- ☐ At least once a day
- ☐ 2 or more times a week
- ☐ 2 or more times a month
- ☐ Only when something big happens
- ☐ Never

11. What social networking sites do you visit daily (check all that apply)?

- ☐ Facebook
- ☐ LinkedIn
- ☐ My Space
- ☐ Twitter
- ☐ Other (please specify) _____.
- ☐ I do not visit any social networking sites.

Anytime during my lifetime, I have...

(answers = 7pt. scale from Many times to Never)

Very often (9 times or more)

Often (7-8 times)

Occasionally (5-6 times)

Neutral

Seldom (3-4 times)

Very Rarely (1-2 times)

Never (0 times)

12. ...participated in a political discussion on a social networking site with a person from a different political viewpoint.

13. ...socialized with a person from a different religion

a. gone to the movies

b. visited in each other's homes

c. gone shopping with a person from a different religion

d. gone to dinner

e. played on a sports team

f. worked on a class project

g. shared a living arrangement, such as a dorm floor, suite, or room, apartment, or house

14. ...socialized with a person with a different sexual orientation.

a. gone to the movies

b. visited in each other's homes

c. gone shopping

d. gone to dinner

e. played on a sports team

f. worked on a class project

g. shared a living arrangement, such as a dorm floor, suite, or room,
apartment, or house

15. ...socialized with a person from a different racial/ethnic group

a. gone to the movies

b. visited in each other's homes

c. gone shopping

d. gone to dinner

e. played on a sports team

f. worked on a class project

g. shared a living arrangement, such as a dorm floor, suite, or room,
apartment, or house

16. Current enrollment classification:

___ Freshman

___ Sophomore

___ Junior

___ Senior

___ Graduate Student

17. Sex:

___ Male

___Female

18. Age

___19 or under

___20 – 29

___30 – 39

___40 – 49

___50 or over

APPENDIX B

PRIMING TREATMENTS

SET 1

Facts about Mothers in Poverty: More Whites than Blacks

In his 1999 Nieman Reports article, Franklin D. Gilliam says, “While African-American women do represent more than one-third of the women on welfare, in census data released in 1998 they accounted for only a bit more than 10 percent of the total number of welfare recipients.

This narrative script—skillfully locating the “intersection” of race and gender was given its most public voice by then-candidate Ronald Reagan on the 1976 campaign trail. During that election Reagan often recited the story of a woman from Chicago’s South Side who was arrested for welfare fraud. “She has 80 names, 30 addresses, 12 Social Security cards and is collecting veteran’s benefits on four non-existing deceased husbands. And she is collecting Social Security on her cards. She’s got Medicaid, getting food stamps, and she is collecting welfare under each of her names.”

David Zucchino, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, spent a year with two welfare mothers in Philadelphia and wrote “The Myth of the Welfare Queen.” According to Zucchino, “The image of the big-spending, lavish-living, Cadillac-driving welfare queen was by then thoroughly embedded in American folklore.”

The implicit racial coding is readily apparent. The woman Reagan was talking about was African-American. Veiled references to African-American women, and African-Americans in general, were equally transparent. In other words, while poor women of all races get blamed for their impoverished condition,

African-American women commit the most egregious violations of American values. This story line taps into stereotypes about both women (uncontrolled sexuality) and African-Americans (laziness). It does appear fair to conclude that the welfare queen narrative script has succeeded in imprinting stereotypic racial and gender images in the minds of many Americans.”

SET 2

Facts about African Americans' Association with Violent Crime

Stephen Balkaran writes in his 1999 Nieman Reports article, "Mass Media and Racism," that African-Americans have historically been associated with anti-social behavior in media representations.

"Here, the portrayal of young African-American males (involved in gangs and other deviant acts of violence) has become a multi-million dollar industry. American society has now accepted these stereotypes which the film media have ascribed to the black community. Films such as *Boyz in the Hood* and *Menace II Society* have become multi-million dollar success stories with criminal portrayals of young blacks. This portrayal, over time, has fostered false beliefs in white America regarding the way we perceive and view blacks. What the media refuse to acknowledge is that the vast majority of blacks are employed, attend school, and are not involved in gangs or other criminal activities. It is now quite common for young African-American males to be stopped and questioned by cops for any misfits."

"Research has disclosed that most serious crimes (homicide, rape, robbery, and assault) in inner cities are committed by a very small proportion of African-American youth, some 8% by estimates. Yet the tendency to characterize all African-American males as criminals continues in our society." The FBI crime statistics report that between 1980 and 2003, the U.S. incarceration rate more than tripled, from 139 to 482 per 100,000, and the number of prisoners increased from 320,000 to 1.39 million. Blacks are seven times more likely to be in prison than whites. Hispanics are three times more likely.

SET 3

Dispelling Myths about African Americans, Education, and Success

After watching news and sports stories about college and professional football and basketball, viewers may believe the myth that the most promising path to wealth and success for African-Americans is by becoming a professional athlete. Playing high school sports leads to playing college sports, which give the athlete media exposure and recognition, which leads to a professional sports contract. This may work for a very few. The NCAA Student-Athlete Ethnicity Report, published in February 2010, mentions there are 420,000 NCAA student-athletes – all three divisions combined – and 1,000 member institutions. The vast majority of these athletes are white/non-Hispanic (71.4% of men and 77.8% of women), followed by African-Americans (18.4% of men and 11.4% of women).

The majority of professional athletes are White. African-Americans account for about 19% of all professional athletes in all sports combined. Library Index.com reports that in 2002 African-Americans accounted for 10.9 percent of the civilian labor force age sixteen and over. Of the entire employed population of African Americans, 22.7 percent held managerial and professional positions, compared to 31.9 percent of employed white Americans.

These occupations are directly related to education. As Stephen Balkaran writes in Nieman Reports (1999), “although there are significant variations in school dropout rates from community to community, nationally the dropout rates for both blacks and whites have decreased since the 1970's. When family income and other background differences are taken into account, African-American youths are no more likely than whites to drop out of school.” While playing sports in high school and college has its many benefits, the stereotypical portrayals in news and sports media of African-American

wealth and success belonging mainly to athletes is a misrepresentation of the academic and professional accomplishments of most African-Americans.

SET 4

Facts about Income Levels and Poverty

In his article *Mass Media and Racism* (1999), Stephan Balkaran says, “Mass media have played and will continue to play a crucial role in the way white Americans perceive African-Americans. As a result of the overwhelming media focus on crime, drug use, gang violence, and other forms of anti-social behavior among African-Americans, the media have fostered a distorted and pernicious public perception of African-Americans.”

“What the media refuse to acknowledge is the fact that between 1967 and 1990, the percentage of black families with incomes of a least \$50,000 more than doubled from 7 to 15 percent. The median income of African-American families in which both husband and wife worked rose from \$28,700 in 1967 to \$40,038 in 1990, an increase of more than 40 percent. By comparison, the median of white family incomes with two wage earners increased 17 percent during this period, from \$40,040 to \$47,247.”

The U. S. Census Bureau is releasing results from the 2010 Census and Southern states’ show median household income levels are the lowest in the nation. But the figures may be misleading.

None of these statistics reflect regional or local cost differences, which can be immense. A \$50,000 salary in Manchester N.H., for instance, is roughly equivalent to one of \$38,000 in Tupelo, Mississippi.

A Mississippian earning \$38,000 can live about as well as a New Yorker in pricey Manhattan with a salary of more than \$93,000. Mississippi’s population is 60.5% White and 37.2% African-American.

SET 5

More White Teens Give Birth than Hispanics or Blacks

Teen pregnancy has been called an "epidemic" and a national emergency. Stereotypes of teen parents abound: they are said to be uneducated, irresponsible, abusive, immoral, and destined to a life of poverty. This is a very complex issue involving many variables attached to teen birth rates, including culture, social norms, and politics. Here, the 2008 statistics on teen births in the United States from the Center for Disease Control will be presented to provide hard numbers to assess who the teens are that are giving birth. Of the 418,157 births by White, Black, and Hispanic teens in 2008, White – 168,684; Hispanic – 144,914; and Black – 104,559.

Because teen pregnancy is stereotypically associated with limited education and poverty, the representations of teen parents in the news are commonly the same as seen in stories of women on public assistance programs, but the facts show that White and Hispanic teens combined make up the majority of teens giving birth in the United States.

APPENDIX C

TELEVISION SCRIPTS – ALL PARTICIPANTS

Set 1-Script – Mothers in Poverty

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

The public assistance reform bill signed by President Bill Clinton in 1996 has seen little success.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

It was supposed to help move mothers off the public dole and into the workforce. But if the economic boom years didn't lift poor mothers into the middle class, how are they faring in today's economy?

Author of Flat Broke with Children Sharon Hays says poor mothers and their children get by the same way the poor in New Orleans and Haiti get by...

by cobbling together every available source of aid and support.

Congress and the Obama administration continue to hunt for solutions to put poor and unemployed mothers back to work.

Set 2-Script – Violent Crime

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

Violent crime arrests are down across the U-S for the second year in a row.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

The F-B-I reports two-year arrest trends show violent crime arrests dropped two-percent.

Sources say most of the violent crime arrests were made in densely populated urban areas like Newark...Chicago and Detroit.

Experts say even though arrests are on the decline...violent crimes can be partly blamed on gangs and street drug activity.

The F-B-I report does not include how many people have been prosecuted...convicted...or imprisoned.

Set 3-Script – Student Athletes

Estimated Run Time :50

(Anchor)

New grade-point average rules are benching over 100 student athletes in one North Carolina school district.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Guilford County School District athletes who fail to earn at least a 2-point-0 G-P-A in the spring semester are ineligible to play for their high school teams in the fall.

Parents argue the new G-P-A requirements are unfair and don't take individual class performance into consideration.

Northeast High School coach Tommy Pursley says the kids need the sports program more than the program needs the kids.

He says sports are most of these kids' ticket-out of their urban neighborhoods and their only shot at success.

Other teachers say the kids are just lazy and feel entitled to a different set of standards because they're good at basketball or football.

School district attorneys say there is no constitutional right to play sports and the basis of a minimum G-P-A is obvious.

Set 4-Script – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

The 20-10 U-S Census figures are coming and wealth in America has certainly not gone South.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Census stats show the wealthiest state in the U-S are in the northeast...the poorest are in the South.

Mississippi is the poorest state in the nation...median household income is just over 35-thousand dollars a year.

Not surprisingly...it also had the highest poverty rate.

One in five Mississippi households live under the poverty line.

New Hampshire leads the nation's wealthiest state with a median income of 65-thousand dollars a year.

Economists say the South is poor...partly because of so many rural areas and fewer educational opportunities.

Set 5-Script – Teen Pregnancy

Estimated Run Time :45

(Anchor)

Some call it Babies Having Babies...young single girls giving up their high school and college dreams to become mothers.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Experts say there is good reason to think that the economy is a major factor in why the U-S teen birth rate in 2009 fell to its lowest point in almost 70 years.

A decline in immigration...blamed on the weak job market...is another factor cited for the lower birth rate.

The birth rate for teenagers 15 to 19 years old fell to 39 births per one-thousand girls.

Teenage moms account for about 10 percent of the nation's births each year.

But even though the numbers are declining...the U-S teen birth rate continues to be far higher than that of 16 other developed countries.

APPENDIX D

PHOTOGRAPHS

Set 1- Mothers in Poverty

Photo 1 ↓



SET 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Photo 2 ↓



SET 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Photo 3 ↓



SET 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Photo 4 ↓



SET 2 – Violent Crime

Photo 1 ↓



SET 2 – Violent Crime

Photo 2 ↓



SET 2 –Violent Crime

Photo 3 ↓



SET 2 –Violent Crime

Photo 4 ↓



SET 3 – Student Athletes

Photo 1 ↓



SET 3 – Student Athletes

Photo 2 ↓



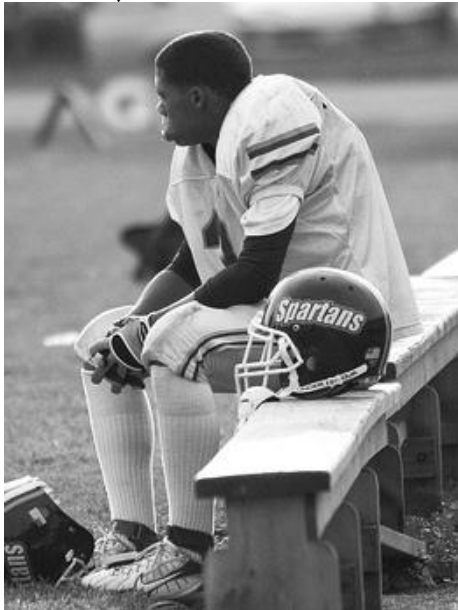
SET 3 – Student Athletes

Photo 3 ↓



SET 3 – Student Athletes

Photo 4 ↓



SET 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Photo 1 ↓



SET 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Photo 2 ↓



SET 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Photo 3 ↓



SET 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Photo 4 ↓



SET 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Photo 1 ↓



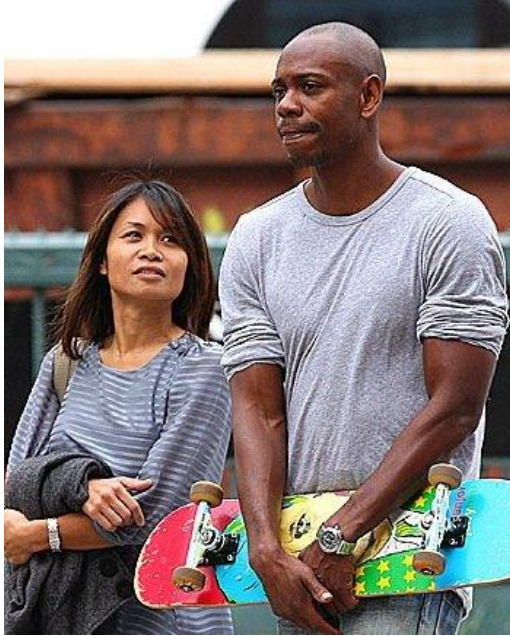
SET 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Photo 2 ↓



SET 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Photo 3 ↓



SET 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Photo 4 ↓



APPENDIX E

MANIPULATION CHECK QUESTIONNAIRE

Read the script in Set 1.

Set 1 - Script

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

The public assistance reform bill signed by President Bill Clinton in 1996 has seen little success.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

It was supposed to help move mothers off the public dole and into the workforce.

But if the economic boom years didn't lift poor mothers into the middle class, how are they faring in today's economy?

Author of Flat Broke with Children Sharon Hays says poor mothers and their children get by the same way the poor in New Orleans and Haiti get by...

by cobbling together every available source of aid and support.

Congress and the Obama administration continue to hunt for solutions to put poor and unemployed mothers back to work.

Please answer the following questions.

1. Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?

- ☐ 1. African American
- ☐ 2. Asian
- ☐ 3. Hispanic
- ☐ 4. Native American
- ☐ 5. White

2. What caused you to think of this race?

___ 1. Overall subject matter

___ 2. Specific words or phrases.

(Which words or phrases?)

3. How likely would you expect to find a story like this in TV, radio, newspaper, or online news?

___ 1. Very unlikely

___ 2. Unlikely

___ 3. Somewhat unlikely

___ 4. Neither unlikely nor likely

___ 5. Somewhat likely

___ 6. Likely

___ 7. Very Likely

Now, look at each photo in Set 1.

Please answer the following questions for each photo:

Set 1

1. What is the race/ethnicity of the individual or group depicted?

1. African American

2. Asian

3. Hispanic

4. Native American

5. White

Photo 1 ___

Photo 2 ___

Photo 3 ___

Photo 4 ___

2. How easy or difficult is it to distinguish a race/ethnicity?

1. Very difficult

2. Difficult

3. Somewhat difficult

4. Neither difficult nor easy

5. Somewhat easy

6. Easy

7. Very easy

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

3. Please rate the quality of each photo.

1. Very poor
2. Poor
3. Somewhat poor
4. Neither poor nor good
5. Somewhat good
6. Good
7. Very good

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

Consider all photos in the set.

4. Other than the race of the individual or group depicted, how similar or different are the photos?

1. Very different
2. Different
3. Somewhat different
4. Neither different nor similar
5. Somewhat similar
6. Similar
7. Very similar

Photos 1 and 2 ____
Photos 3 and 4 ____

5. Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?

Photo # ____

6. What compelled you to choose this photo?

Now read the following passages and answer the questions.

Passage 1

In his book *Power Producer: A Practical Guide to TV News Producing* (3rd Edition, 2000), Dow Smith says “Graphics help viewers comprehend a story more quickly and more fully (p. 84). Included in a wide array of graphic possibilities is the *over-the-shoulder* (OTS) graphic where a photograph or still graphic is superimposed over the shoulder of the anchor reading. These stories are usually short *readers*, which mean they are delivered by the anchor with no video or reporter package. “The OTS box gives the viewer a quick visual cue about the story.”

One of the first lessons in reporting news for television is to write to your video. In other words, don’t write your script then go out and try to capture video to go along with your words. For example, if you are covering a protest at the state capitol and you have already written “thousands of protesters show up to let their voices be heard,” don’t expect the videographers to try to find “thousands of protesters” when only about 50 people showed up. It is much better to write to the video that is available and when your videographer captures only 50 protesters, you can accurately say, “About 50 protesters want their voices to be heard.”

Another important rule to follow is to make sure the words and video or graphics match. It is not a good idea to be telling viewers about a sewage spill and the video or graphic photos are showing a pristine park or random shot of dogs running along the bank of a lake, unless you are saying the sewage spill is affecting the “quality of life in Zilker Park” or causing problems for “animals along Shoal Creek.” If you are telling about a person, place, thing, or event, it is better to show the person, place, thing, or event. That way, your audience will not experience a disconnect between the words and images and the story will make much better sense.

1. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ____yes
2. ____no

Passage 2

In his 1999 *Nieman Reports* article, Franklin D. Gilliam says, “While African-American women do represent more than one-third of the women on welfare, in census data released in 1998 they accounted for only a bit more than 10 percent of the total number of welfare recipients.

This narrative script—skillfully locating the “intersection” of race and gender was given its most public voice by then-candidate Ronald Reagan on the 1976 campaign trail. During that election Reagan often recited the story of a woman from Chicago’s South Side who was arrested for welfare fraud. “She has 80 names, 30 addresses, 12 Social Security cards and is collecting veteran’s benefits on four non-existing deceased

husbands. And she is collecting Social Security on her cards. She's got Medicaid, getting food stamps, and she is collecting welfare under each of her names."

David Zucchino, a Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter, spent a year with two welfare mothers in Philadelphia and wrote "The Myth of the Welfare Queen." According to Zucchino, "The image of the big-spending, lavish-living, Cadillac-driving welfare queen was by then thoroughly embedded in American folklore."

The implicit racial coding is readily apparent. The woman Reagan was talking about was African-American. Veiled references to African-American women, and African-Americans in general, were equally transparent. In other words, while poor women of all races get blamed for their impoverished condition, African-American women commit the most egregious violations of American values. This story line taps into stereotypes about both women (uncontrolled sexuality) and African-Americans (laziness). It does appear fair to conclude that the welfare queen narrative script has succeeded in imprinting stereotypic racial and gender images in the minds of many Americans."

2. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ☐ yes

2. ☐ no

Read the script in Set 2.

Set 2 -Script

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

Violent crime arrests are down across the U-S for the second year in a row.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

The F-B-I reports two-year arrest trends show violent crime arrests dropped two-percent.

Sources say most of the violent crime arrests were made in densely populated urban areas like Newark...Chicago and Detroit.

Experts say even though arrests are on the decline...violent crimes can be partly blamed on gangs and street drug activity.

The F-B-I report does not include how many people have been prosecuted...convicted...or imprisoned.

Please answer the following questions.

1. Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?

- ☐ 1. African American
- ☐ 2. Asian
- ☐ 3. Hispanic
- ☐ 4. Native American
- ☐ 5. White

2. What caused you to think of this race?

- ☐ 1. Overall subject matter
- ☐ 2. Specific words or phrases.
(Which words or phrases?)

3. How likely would you expect to find a story like this in TV, radio, newspaper, or online news?

- ☐ 1. Very unlikely
- ☐ 2. Unlikely
- ☐ 3. Somewhat unlikely
- ☐ 4. Neither unlikely nor likely
- ☐ 5. Somewhat likely
- ☐ 6. Likely
- ☐ 7. Very Likely

Now, look at each photo in Set 2.

Please answer the following questions for each photo:

Set 2

1. What is the race/ethnicity of the individual being arrested (not the police)?

- 1. African American
- 2. Asian

3. Hispanic
4. Native American
5. White

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

2. How easy or difficult is it to distinguish a race/ethnicity?

1. Very difficult
2. Difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. Neither difficult nor easy
5. Somewhat easy
6. Easy
7. Very easy

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

3. Please rate the quality of each photo.

1. Very poor
2. Poor
3. Somewhat poor
4. Neither poor nor good
5. Somewhat good
6. Good
7. Very good

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

Consider all photos in the set.

4. Other than the race of the individual or group depicted, how similar or different are the photos?

1. Very different

2. Different
3. Somewhat different
4. Neither different nor similar
5. Somewhat similar
6. Similar
7. Very similar

Photos 1 and 2 ____

Photos 3 and 4 ____

5. Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?

Photo # ____

6. What compelled you to choose this photo?

Now read the following passages and answer the questions.

Passage 1

Dow Smith, in his book *Power Producer* (2000), says there are five C's of broadcast news writing. "Understandably, much of the writing you did in school wasn't consistent with broadcast news writing. Your compositions for English class are meant to be read, but not aloud. Writing for the ear is different than writing for the eye. You are writing copy so an anchor or reporter can tell the viewers a story. To write copy for the ear, you must learn and practice the five C's: Conversational, Clear, Concise, Compelling, and Cliché free."

When writing for print, readers can always return to the first of the story, re-read a sentence or paragraph, check a number, or linger on a thought. Writing news online offers readers even more opportunities for lingering, researching, and seeking further information by offering links to more detailed information and/or Websites. Broadcast news viewers don't have that ability or luxury. What you say counts at that very moment. There's no going back and checking stats, numbers, or more detailed information. So you must make sure the copy is written as clear and concise as a conversation you have with a friend.

1. Would you have chosen a different if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ____yes

2. ____no

Passage 2

Stephen Balkaran writes in his 1999 *Nieman Reports* article, “Mass Media and Racism,” that African-Americans have historically been associated with anti-social behavior in media representations.

“Here, the portrayal of young African-American males (involved in gangs and other deviant acts of violence) has become a multi-million dollar industry. American society has now accepted these stereotypes which the film media have ascribed to the black community. Films such as *Boyz in the Hood* and *Menace II Society* have become multi-million dollar success stories with criminal portrayals of young blacks. This portrayal, over time, has fostered false beliefs in white America regarding the way we perceive and view blacks. What the media refuse to acknowledge is that the vast majority of blacks are employed, attend school, and are not involved in gangs or other criminal activities. It is now quite common for young African-American males to be stopped and questioned by cops for any misfits.”

“Research has disclosed that most serious crimes (homicide, rape, robbery, and assault) in inner cities are committed by a very small proportion of African-American youth, some 8% by estimates. [7](#) Yet the tendency to characterize all African-American males as criminals continues in our society.” The FBI crime statistics report that between 1980 and 2003, the U.S. incarceration rate more than tripled, from 139 to 482 per 100,000, and the number of prisoners increased from 320,000 to 1.39 million. Blacks are seven times more likely to be in prison than whites. Hispanics are three times more likely.

2. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ☐ yes

2. ☐ no

Read the script in Set 3.

Set 3-Script

Estimated Run Time :50

(Anchor)

New grade-point average rules are benching over 100 student athletes in one North Carolina school district.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Guilford County School District athletes who fail to earn at least a 2-point-0

G-P-A in the spring semester are ineligible to play for their high school teams in the fall.

Parents argue the new G-P-A requirements are unfair and don't take individual class performance into consideration.

Northeast High School coach Tommy Pursley says the kids need the sports program more than the program needs the kids.

He says sports are most of these kids' ticket-out of their urban neighborhoods and their only shot at success.

Other teachers say the kids are just lazy and feel entitled to a different set of standards because they're good at basketball or football.

School district attorneys say there is no constitutional right to play sports and the basis of a minimum G-P-A is obvious.

Please answer the following questions.

1. Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?

- ☐ 1. African American
- ☐ 2. Asian
- ☐ 3. Hispanic
- ☐ 4. Native American
- ☐ 5. White

2. What caused you to think of this race?

- ☐ 1. Overall subject matter
- ☐ 2. Specific words or phrases.
(Which words or phrases?)

3. How likely would you expect to find a story like this in TV, radio, newspaper, or online news?

- ☐ 1. Very unlikely
- ☐ 2. Unlikely

- ___ 3. Somewhat unlikely
- ___ 4. Neither unlikely nor likely
- ___ 5. Somewhat likely
- ___ 6. Likely
- ___ 7. Very Likely

Now, look at each photo in Set 3.

Please answer the following questions for each photo:

Set 3

1. What is the race/ethnicity of the individual or group being depicted?

- 1. African American
- 2. Asian
- 3. Hispanic
- 4. Native American
- 5. White

Photo 1 ___

Photo 2 ___

Photo 3 ___

Photo 4 ___

2. How easy or difficult is it to distinguish a race/ethnicity?

- 1. Very difficult
- 2. Difficult
- 3. Somewhat difficult
- 4. Neither difficult nor easy
- 5. Somewhat easy
- 6. Easy
- 7. Very easy

Photo 1 ___

Photo 2 ___

Photo 3 ___

Photo 4 ___

3. Please rate the quality of each photo.

- 1. Very poor
- 2. Poor
- 3. Somewhat poor
- 4. Neither poor nor good

5. Somewhat good
6. Good
7. Very good

Photo 1 ____
 Photo 2 ____
 Photo 3 ____
 Photo 4 ____

Consider all photos in the set.

4. Other than the race of the individual or group depicted, how similar or different are the photos?

1. Very different
2. Different
3. Somewhat different
4. Neither different nor similar
5. Somewhat similar
6. Similar
7. Very similar

Photos 1 and 2 ____
 Photos 3 and 4 ____

5. Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?

Photo # ____

6. What compelled you to choose this photo?

Now read the following passages and answer the questions.

Passage 1

Dow Smith says, “television news producers are incredibly important, but most people don’t know who they are or what they do. Producers have far more control over the news and how it’s reported than any other individual in the newsroom, including the anchors. However, in local television and cable news, producers decide what news stories the viewers see and how the news is presented. It’s the producer’s call on which public issues get exposure on the news. A producer’s decisions make an anchor team

shine. A producer leads the teams of dedicated professionals that get the news on the air.”

“Among the thousands of producers working behind the scenes, in television news, there is a group at the top qualified to be called ‘power producers.’ These producers have mastered all facets of producing. They make a positive impact on their newsrooms and on their communities. They create successful newscasts both in ratings and news coverage. Power producers make a difference. They are leaders in television news.”

Producers are not usually the “boss.” Sometimes the producer may answer to an executive producer, but most always will answer to the news director. Still, the producer has the responsibility for the individual newscast and must keep the news department’s mission, philosophy, and market in mind. A question of content versus quality is often debated among news producers. Is it better to run a well written story with less than great video over a story with fantastic and compelling video, but is poorly written? The answer is: it depends. Usually, content will override quality if the story is “breaking news” and needs to be quickly gotten on the air. News sometimes happens so quickly, producers must rely on the first or only video available. With today’s technology, that may mean using a citizen’s or an eye witness’s video captured on a smart phone. On the other hand, non-breaking news stories give the reporter and videographer time to make each word and shot count.

1. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ___yes

2. ___no

Passage 2

After watching news and sports stories about college and professional football and basketball, viewers may believe the myth that the most promising path to wealth and success for African-Americans is by becoming a professional athlete. Playing high school sports leads to playing college sports, which give the athlete media exposure and recognition, which leads to a professional sports contract. This may work for a very few. The NCAA Student-Athlete Ethnicity Report, published in February 2010, mentions there are 420,000 NCAA student-athletes – all three divisions combined – and 1,000 member institutions. The vast majority of these athletes are white/non-Hispanic (71.4% of men and 77.8% of women), followed by African-Americans (18.4% of men and 11.4% of women).

The majority of professional athletes are White. African-Americans account for about 19% of all professional athletes in all sports combined. Library Index.com reports that in 2002 African-Americans accounted for 10.9 percent of the civilian labor force age sixteen and over. Of the entire employed population of African Americans, 22.7 percent held managerial and professional positions, compared to 31.9 percent of employed white Americans.

These occupations are directly related to education. As Stephen Balkaran writes in *Nieman Reports* (1999), “although there are significant variations in school dropout rates from community to community, nationally the dropout rates for both blacks and whites have decreased since the 1970's. When family income and other background differences are taken into account, African-American youths are no more likely than whites to drop out of school.” While playing sports in high school and college has its many benefits, the stereotypical portrayals in news and sports media of African-American wealth and success belonging mainly to athletes is a misrepresentation of the academic and professional accomplishments of most African-Americans.

2. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ☐ yes

2. ☐ no

Read the script in Set 4.

Set 4-Script

Estimated Run Time :30

(Anchor)

The 20-10 U-S Census figures are coming and wealth in America has certainly not gone South.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Census stats show the wealthiest state in the U-S are in the northeast...the poorest are in the South.

Mississippi is the poorest state in the nation...median household income is just over 35-thousand dollars a year.

Not surprisingly...it also had the highest poverty rate.

One in five Mississippi households live under the poverty line.

New Hampshire leads the nation's wealthiest state with a median income of 65-thousand dollars a year.

Economists say the South is poor...partly because of so many rural areas and fewer educational opportunities.

Please answer the following questions.

1. Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?

- ☐ 1. African American
- ☐ 2. Asian
- ☐ 3. Hispanic
- ☐ 4. Native American
- ☐ 5. White

2. What caused you to think of this race?

- ☐ 1. Overall subject matter
- ☐ 2. Specific words or phrases.
(Which words or phrases?)

3. How likely would you expect to find a story like this in TV, radio, newspaper, or online news?

- ☐ 1. Very unlikely
- ☐ 2. Unlikely
- ☐ 3. Somewhat unlikely
- ☐ 4. Neither unlikely nor likely
- ☐ 5. Somewhat likely
- ☐ 6. Likely
- ☐ 7. Very Likely

Now, look at each photo in Set 4.

Please answer the following questions for each photo:

Set 4

1. What is the race/ethnicity of the individual or group being depicted?

- 1. African American
- 2. Asian

3. Hispanic
4. Native American
5. White

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

2. How easy or difficult is it to distinguish a race/ethnicity?

1. Very difficult
2. Difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. Neither difficult nor easy
5. Somewhat easy
6. Easy
7. Very easy

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

3. Please rate the quality of each photo.

1. Very poor
2. Poor
3. Somewhat poor
4. Neither poor nor good
5. Somewhat good
6. Good
7. Very good

Photo 1 ____
Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

Consider all photos in the set.

4. Other than the race of the individual or group depicted, how similar or different are the photos?

1. Very different

2. Different
3. Somewhat different
4. Neither different nor similar
5. Somewhat similar
6. Similar
7. Very similar

Photos 1 and 2 ____

Photos 3 and 4 ____

5. Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?

Photo # ____

6. What compelled you to choose this photo?

Now read the following passages and answer the questions.

Passage 1

In his book *Power Producer* (2000), Dow Smith says be careful what graphics are used, but more importantly, create a different OTS and headline for every story.

“It isn’t acceptable to use a single common graphic for all the stories on the same subject, newscast after newscast. This quickly gets boring.”

“Using OTS and dueling boxes can cause production problems. Orchestrating camera shots around boxes takes coordination with your director, and depends on how many cameras he has to work with in the studio. Leave enough time in your script for camera movement. In planning your visuals, avoid the possibility of having an anchor read to the wrong camera or some other production error. One of the jobs of the producer is to make your anchors comfortable.”

“Keep in mind a rule advertisers use for billboards. No highway billboard is supposed to make more than five main points. The copy must be simple and clear so a driver can understand the message in a few seconds. The same rule applies to television news graphics. The television news audience only has a few seconds to absorb the information.” Make sure the OTS graphic gives the viewer a visual image to go along with the story.

1. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ____yes

2. ___no

Passage 2

In his article *Mass Media and Racism* (1999), Stephan Balkaran says, “Mass media have played and will continue to play a crucial role in the way white Americans perceive African-Americans. As a result of the overwhelming media focus on crime, drug use, gang violence, and other forms of anti-social behavior among African-Americans, the media have fostered a distorted and pernicious public perception of African-Americans.”

“What the media refuse to acknowledge is the fact that between 1967 and 1990, the percentage of black families with incomes of a least \$50,000 more than doubled from 7 to 15 percent. The median income of African-American families in which both husband and wife worked rose from \$28,700 in 1967 to \$40,038 in 1990, an increase of more than 40 percent. By comparison, the median of white family incomes with two wage earners increased 17 percent during this period, from \$40,040 to \$47,247.”

The U. S. Census Bureau is releasing results from the 2010 Census and Southern states’ show median household income levels are the lowest in the nation. But the figures may be misleading.

None of these statistics reflect **regional or local cost differences**, which can be **immense**. A \$50,000 salary in Manchester N.H., for instance, is roughly equivalent to one of \$38,000 in Tupelo, Mississippi.

A Mississippian earning \$38,000 can live about as well as a New Yorker in pricey Manhattan with a salary of more than \$93,000. Mississippi’s population is 60.5% White and 37.2% African-American.

2. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ___yes

2. ___no

Read the script in Set 5.

Set 5-Script

Estimated Run Time :45

(Anchor)

Some call it Babies Having Babies...young single girls giving up their high school and college dreams to become mothers.

(TAKE Over-the-Shoulder Graphic – Anchor Voice Over)

Experts say there is good reason to think that the economy is a major factor in why the U-S teen birth rate in 2009 fell to its lowest point in almost 70 years.

A decline in immigration...blamed on the weak job market...is another factor cited for the lower birth rate.

The birth rate for teenagers 15 to 19 years old fell to 39 births per one-thousand girls.

Teenage moms account for about 10 percent of the nation's births each year.

But even though the numbers are declining...the U-S teen birth rate continues to be far higher than that of 16 other developed countries.

Please answer the following questions.

1. Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?

- ☐ 1. African American
- ☐ 2. Asian
- ☐ 3. Hispanic
- ☐ 4. Native American
- ☐ 5. White

2. What caused you to think of this race?

- ☐ 1. Overall subject matter
- ☐ 2. Specific words or phrases.
(Which words or phrases?)

3. How likely would you expect to find a story like this in TV, radio, newspaper, or online news?

- ☐ 1. Very unlikely
- ☐ 2. Unlikely
- ☐ 3. Somewhat unlikely
- ☐ 4. Neither unlikely nor likely
- ☐ 5. Somewhat likely
- ☐ 6. Likely
- ☐ 7. Very Likely

Now, look at each photo in Set 5.

Please answer the following questions for each photo:

Set 5

1. What is the race/ethnicity of the individual or group being depicted?

1. African American
2. Asian
3. Hispanic
4. Native American
5. White

Photo 1 ____

Photo 2 ____

Photo 3 ____

Photo 4 ____

2. How easy or difficult is it to distinguish a race/ethnicity?

1. Very difficult
2. Difficult
3. Somewhat difficult
4. Neither difficult nor easy
5. Somewhat easy
6. Easy
7. Very easy

Photo 1 ____

Photo 2 ____

Photo 3 ____

Photo 4 ____

3. Please rate the quality of each photo.

1. Very poor
2. Poor
3. Somewhat poor
4. Neither poor nor good
5. Somewhat good
6. Good
7. Very good

Photo 1 ____

Photo 2 ____
Photo 3 ____
Photo 4 ____

Consider all photos in the set.

4. Other than the race of the individual or group depicted, how similar or different are the photos?

1. Very different
2. Different
3. Somewhat different
4. Neither different nor similar
5. Somewhat similar
6. Similar
7. Very similar

Photos 1 and 2 ____
Photos 3 and 4 ____

5. Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?
Photo # ____

6. What compelled you to choose this photo?

Now read the following passages and answer the questions.

Passage 1

Federal and state laws have a major say in how a producer does her/his job, according to Dow Smith in his book *The Power Producer* (2000). He says, “the laws you have to worry about are those concerned with libel and privacy. To master the legal side of producing, you need to know the basics of libel law.” The producer does not need to have a law degree, but a good working knowledge on what can and cannot be written and aired is essential.

Smith says, “as a broadcast news writer, you can unintentionally commit libel through sloppy language. Certain buzz words used in connection with someone’s name or picture in a story can involve you in a libel suit.” Buzz words such as *rapist*, *thief*, *sexual predator*, or *robber* are just a few examples. “Also,” Smith writes, “remember

that the word ‘alleged’ really can’t get you off the hook. You must have clear attribution from a responsible source for any fact included in a story.

1. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ☐ yes

2. ☐ no

Passage 2

Teen pregnancy has been called an "epidemic" and a national emergency. Stereotypes of teen parents abound: they are said to be uneducated, irresponsible, abusive, immoral, and destined to a life of poverty. This is a very complex issue involving many variables attached to teen birth rates, including culture, social norms, and politics. Here, the 2008 statistics on teen births in the United States from the Center for Disease Control will be presented to provide hard numbers to assess who the teens are that are giving birth. Of the 418,157 births by White, Black, and Hispanic teens in 2008, White – 168,684; Hispanic – 144,914; and Black – 104,559.

Because teen pregnancy is stereotypically associated with limited education and poverty, the representations of teen parents in the news are commonly the same as seen in stories of women on public assistance programs, but the facts show that White and Hispanic teens combined make up the majority of teens giving birth in the United States.

2. Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this before you looked at the photos?

1. ☐ yes

2. ☐ no

APPENDIX F

QUALITATIVE DATA CODEBOOK

Raw Data Mined from Manipulation Check Responses

CODING

Perspective: ***Personal:*** Participant recognizes stereotype and may agree with/accept stereotype.
Public: Participant recognizes the stereotype based on how others may view minorities, but may not personally agree with/accept the stereotype.
Media: Participant recognizes the stereotype based on how media may portray minorities, but may not personally agree with/accept the stereotype.

Race imagined in script: “Which racial/ethnic group did you first picture in your mind when reading the text?”

Words influencing thoughts: “What caused you to think of this race?”

Photo Selection: “Which one of the photos best matches the text in the script?”

Selection Rationale: “What compelled you to choose this photo?”

Priming Influence: “Would you have chosen a different photo if you had read this [passage countering stereotypes] before you looked at the photos?”

Script-Photo Agreement: Does the race first imagined in the script match the race of the people in the photo selected?

Participant 01**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Flat Broke; Haiti; New Orleans

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: She has more children so she is probably struggling the most financially.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Chicago and Detroit

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: He is out in the city where the script suggests the most crime takes place.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: He seems more dejected and the picture evokes his longing for sports.

Priming Influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: South; Mississippi

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: He looks outside in a more rural area.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: She looks really young and really upset about the news that she is pregnant.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Participant 02

Perspective: Personal

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: poor

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: The woman had three children as opposed to one: She looks unhappy.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: n

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: There were cops on the scene/more than one.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Sports; GPA above 2.0

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: He was benched; His helmet was off.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Mississippi; South: Few Education.

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: Sign says Homeless.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: They are youngest; holding a pregnancy test; unhappy.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 03

Perspective: Personal

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Poor mothers getting back to work.

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: Picture of a mother with many children. Looks __?__ as if she had once worked a lot.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Illegible

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: Fits __?__ that I was thinking ...?__.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Parents __?__ about __?__.

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: Illegible

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Illegible

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: Poor guy in the streets; looking like he __?__.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Having babies-know many Hispanic teen moms __?__.

Photo selection: #4 – White

Selection rationale: Looks pregnant: __?__.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 04**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Obama/Haiti

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: She looked the most motherly due to the closeness of the camera.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: looked the most violent

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: he looked concerned, perhaps about his GPA

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: Mississippi has a high African American population

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: First one I saw and made the largest impression

Priming influence: no

Script-photo selection: yes

Participant 05**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall

Photo selection: #4 – White

Selection rationale: The people pictured appear in more need than those in the other pictures (The way they dress, their eyes, their position of sitting)

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The outfit of the man getting arrested seems fitting to one who would commit a violent crime.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: The person in photo number 2 seems like he has failed a goal. In the other pictures the participants look like they're just watching a close game

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: South

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: The man seems used to being in poverty.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: The people in the photo are young; the woman clearly has some sort of pregnancy test in her hand; she is also biting her lip.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Participant 06**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: New Orleans; Haiti

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The comparison of poor mothers and their children made to the poor in New Orleans and Haiti mentioned in the script gave me an image of African American families.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Chicago; gangs and street thug activities

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: The manner in which the arrested subject is dressed.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Urban neighborhoods; lazy; basketball; football.

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: The words mentioned in the script, urban neighborhoods and football gave me an image of what the photo represents.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: rural areas; fewer educational opportunities.

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: The manner in which the subject is dressed and appears.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: immigration

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: The appearance, youth of the subjects in the photo since the script focuses on teenage mothers.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 07**Perspective: Personal/Media**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: “New Orleans” and “Haiti” comparisons

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: Comparing subject in “New Orleans” and Haiti gives the impression that the subject is African American. Welfare is given to families (predominantly women) so it fits government benefits.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Chicago and Detroit; media (i.e. movies) depict high African American violence in those cities.

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The script speaks of gangs being participants in violence. The handcuffed hands show no subject. Photo 4 shows a man wearing a wife beater (usually used in gangs) it was the best fit.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White-beginning, then changed [to African American] when read common stereotype (ex. lazy).

Words influencing thoughts: “lazy,” “good at sports” ; parents’ involvement in schools (minorities are judged as not being active in kid’s school)

Photo selection: #1 - African American

Selection rationale: Photo 4 and 3 shows worry; photo 2 shows disappointment and photo 1 shows “looking towards a brighter future”.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Down south

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: relevance to first-impression culture.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: younger subjects.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 08**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The mother looks like she is in an urban city area. The other photos can't really tell what's in the surrounding area. Picture 4 looks like it may not be in the U.S.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American and Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Detroit made me think of African American. Gangs and street and drug activity made me think Hispanic

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: It has an African American man and that's the race I thought the script talked about.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: The boys are white and I thought it was about white people.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Mississippi

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: He was African American

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: She actually looks pregnant

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 09**Perspective: Public**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: I am from this race

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: Because it shows a mother with her children, and honestly because of the race, she is African American.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American and Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The way he is dressed and this picture is detailed.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: They tend to relate athletes as African Americans for the most part, I've heard.

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: Because African Americans I hear, are mostly the athletes; also whites, but the lazy ones I think would be said to be the African Americans.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: the state has more whites I think

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: I associated it with homelessness.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: I hear this mainly coming from Hispanics.

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: You don't hear much of white teenagers getting pregnant more than a minority.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 10

Perspective: Media

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: The setting and the fact that the family is close together.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #4 – White

Selection rationale: Most media always show African Americans getting arrested.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: The fact that many American “white” families always want their children in sports regardless of GPA.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: Set speaks of poverty line

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: The boy and girl are looking at the pregnancy test.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 15

Perspective: Personal

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: The other photos made me think they were taken someplace other than America or sometime before Obama's presidency.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Newark, Chicago, and Detroit

Photo selection: #2 – African American

Selection rationale: The story was about crime in general and therefore not singling out an individual (like 3 and 4).

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: 3 and 4 do not look like the players are upset about not being able to play. Photo 2 looks framed to capture the hardships of urban youth and the inability to play.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: ---none---

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: This photo captures the emotion of a teen finding out she is pregnant.

Media would feed off this emotion.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Participant 17**Perspective: Personal/Public**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: Child and mother (especially the mother) both look concerned.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American and Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Gangs

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: The script is too general to show a specific person. Skin color of #1 keeps people from thinking explicitly of a certain people group.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: min. GPA, sports, North Carolina

Photo selection: #4 – White

Selection rationale: North Carolina basketball comes to mind automatically associated with white males.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: wealthy, north east

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: That's what homelessness and poverty looks like to me.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: White

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: youngest people – sends a more shocking message about age of young moms.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Participant 19

Perspective: Personal/Public

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: The news story seems to be referring to black mothers and photo 3 doesn't look to be in the U.S. or recent.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Detroit; Chicago

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: Because the story talks about gang violence. In the first two photos, you really can't tell much. The third is of a woman who I wouldn't assume is in a gang.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #1 – African American

Selection rationale: Blacks are often the focus when talking about athletes who don't have good grades, but are needed on the field. And the guy in photo 2 looks like he has been on the field.

Priming influence: yes

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: In the south, one often sees homeless people with dogs on the sidewalk.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #4 – White

Selection rationale: They look young and they have bags and books.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: no

Participant 31**Perspective: Personal**

Set 1 – Mothers in Poverty

Race imagined in script: All but Asian

Words influencing thoughts: Overall subject matter

Photo selection: #3 – White

Selection rationale: She seems to need a job most, and is likely American.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 2 – Violent Crime

Race imagined in script: All but Native American

Words influencing thoughts: gangs, drugs, street

Photo selection: #1 – White

Selection rationale: It is the most commonly associated _ non violent crimes.

Priming influence: no

Script-Photo agreement: yes

Set 3 – Student Athletes

Race imagined in script: African American and White

Words influencing thoughts: urban escape

Photo selection: #3 – African American

Selection rationale: It shows their desire to play, but regret at failure best.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 4 – Southern Poverty/Unemployment

Race imagined in script: All but Asian and Hispanic

Words influencing thoughts: Rural, poor education

Photo selection: #4 – African American

Selection rationale: Native American groups are most affected by poverty.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

Set 5 – Teen Pregnancy

Race imagined in script: All but Asian

Words influencing thoughts: immigration, economy

Photo selection: #2 – White

Selection rationale: They seem most typical at concerned/young.

Priming influence: no

Script-photo agreement: yes

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